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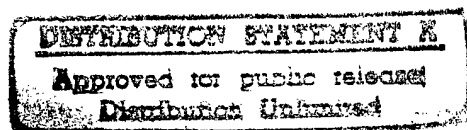
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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS FROM LI-SHIH YEN-CHIU

(No 2, Peiping, 15 April 1961)

- COMMUNIST CHINA -



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(No 2, Peiping, 15 April 1961)

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[The following are translations of selected articles from
Li-shih Yen-chiu, No 2, .Peiping, 15 April 1961.]

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ON THE TRENDS OF WORLD HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Following is the translation of an article by Chou Ku-ch'eng (0719 6253 1004) in Li-shih yen-chiu, No. 2, Peiping, 15 April 1961, pp. 82-94.

I. The Earliest Trends

The development of history is a process of struggle. Separately speaking, it may be the struggle between man and nature or the struggle between one class and another. Every nation develops in the midst of struggle. Many nations exist at the same time and they cannot progress without having relations with each other. These relations may be economic, political, cultural, or military. The relations develop into a trend, which affects, directly or indirectly, the internal struggle of each nation. The internal struggle is the internal cause for each nation's own development. The external relations or trend, through internal causes, frequently produce a great effect, and they have affected the development in the various nations.

1. Relations between the oldest nations in the world are very obvious. This does not mean just the relations between the neighboring states. For instance, the relations of China with the nations in South-east Asia, with the countries east of Ts'ung-ling, with Persia and with India; the relations between the nations of the two great river valleys; and the relations between the nations of these two river valleys with the countries of the Nile River Valley and with Crete are all very obvious. Their relations changed from time to time and from place to place. They were economic, political, military, or cultural, but they established direct or indirect relations. This is a frequent situation. Even the relations between farther distant countries has been proved by objects unearthed by anthropologists. For instance, the ancient civilization of India, as proved by anthropological studies, was well advanced as early as 3,000 years B.C. The living standards of the Ta-lo-p'i-ch'a people were very high. Their agriculture and handicraft industry were relatively advanced.

On the basis of agriculture and the handicraft industry, their commerce was also advanced. Their commercial influence, after the introduction by the Aryans, reached the two river valleys. According to anthropological studies, there is an expression in India's earliest classic, "Li-chu-fei-t'o," meaning the weight of a gold coin, "mana." In Babylon, this word had the same meaning. When it was passed into Greece, it became "mna" and in Latin, it became "mina." Some people believe that this is one of the proofs that there was commercial relations between the two areas. In addition, there are other proofs. For instance, the hard wood produced in India was found in the buildings in Babylon. Again, in ancient Babylon, they called the fine yarns "sindhu," which has the same sound as the word "indo." The figure of the goddess of the Earth, which was widespread in Asia Minor, has also been found among the ancient objects unearthed in India, while the figure of a bull, which prevailed on the Island of Crete, is also found among these unearthed objects in India. Progressive anthropologists have regarded the Nile River Valley and the two river valleys and the Indus River valley as the important areas of the three earliest civilizations. The nearby regions, such as Crete, the Greek Peninsula, Syria, Ashur, Iran, and Pa-lo-chi-ssu-tan, et.c, are regarded as culturally related areas. Such an assumption is very reasonable.

2. As to the earliest relations between Southwest Asia and Southeast Europe, the westward expansion of Persia and the eastward expedition of Alexander the Great can be used as illustrations. In ancient Persia, from its creation by Chu-lo-shih to about 500 years B.C., Persia was a strong empire in western Asia with a slave system. At its height, Persia advanced eastward as far as the Indus River. As the result of the conquest of India, all the territory west of the Indus River belonged to Persia. Its westward march reached as far as the Danube River in Europe. Though it was victorious first and defeated afterwards, Persia still possessed Thrace and the region south of it. All the northern and some central areas of Greece, the islands in the Aegean Sea, and Crete were all under Persian influence. The Greek people were ruled and exploited by the Persian Empire. In the first half of the fifth century B.C., a long war broke out between Persia and Greece. The Persian army marched into Greece. By 490 B.C., it reached Ma-la-tan, east of Athens. In 480 B.C., it reached Salamis, south of Athens. The relations between Persia and Greece were not only economic, but also political;

not only military, but also cultural. Culturally speaking, the Greco-Persian War had a direct effect on the westward spread of eastern culture. The ruling class in Persia had absorbed the ancient cultures from Babylon, Ashur, and Egypt, blended them together, activated them, and spread them to Europe. After the rise of the Persian Empire, the people in Europe actually received eastern culture from the Persians.

In the latter half of the fourth century B.C., the culture of the Greek society with its slave system, had reached its peak, and it began to spread to the various areas in the east and west. About this time, on the left shores of the Black Sea, a rather backward people formed themselves into a nation which became Macedonia. They spread southward and invaded and conquered Greece. On the other hand, they crossed the Tardanelles and invaded Asia. In 335 B.C., Alexander the Great, the ruler of Macedonia, conquered Greece. In the spring of 334 B.C., starting from Macedonia, he began his eastern expedition. In 333 B.C., he fought a great battle with the Persian army at Issus, which is the gateway into Syria from Asia Minor. From 332 to 331 B.C., after he had conquered Egypt, he led his army into the two river valleys, invaded Ashur, and then moved southward into Babylon; then he conquered the capital of Persia. From the Persian capital, he turned northeast, and by 328 B.C., he took possession of the upper reaches of the Amu Daria River, the region of the present Afghanistan. Again in May 324 B.C., he crossed the Hsing-to-ku-shih Mountain and invaded the area east of the Indus River. After having stayed in India 19 months, he led his army back westward. In 324 B.C., he died in Babylonia. In the very short time of the little more than 10 years, Alexander the Great had imposed his military strength on the heads of the Asiatic people, and established the Alexandrian Empire. The Empire's influence in the east can be shown in three aspects: (1) It broke through the isolation between the east and the west and it started the land and sea communication between India and the west. (2) Certain European ideas were spread to India. For instance, the Buddhist religion uses idols, which constitutes a proof that it contains Greek influence. (3) Many Greek arts influenced the Buddhist arts in India, forming a Greco-Buddhist art, with its center in Gandhara, Peshawar, and spreading to various other areas. Later, from here it passed through central Asia into China.

3. After the death of Alexander the Great, his followers who inherited his power struggled among themselves

and were divided into three groups, one in Egypt and one in Macedonia. As to the group in western Asia, it was ruled by general Se-lin-ku; thus, this region became the Se-liu-ku Empire. From the beginning, Se-liu-ku intended to implement Alexander the Great's ideas and to spread Greek culture in Asia. Every place his influence reached, he built a Greek-type city. Several scores of such cities were built, and he spread Greek culture. In the middle of the third century B.C., Se-liu-ku's attention was attracted by events in the West and his rule in the East gradually slackened. Thus, many parts became independent, including Bactria and Parthia. Bactria declared its independence in 256 B.C. It was located in central Asia in the present Afghanistan region. Its position was very important. It was a center on the trade route between the East and West, and also a center in the exchange between eastern and western cultures. It remained strong until 139 B.C. when Parthia and the Yueh-chih combined together and defeated it. Parthia became independent in 250 B.C. It was located in the region southeast of the Caspian Sea. After defeating Bactria, it took possession of all the territories belonging to the Se-liu-ku Empire. At the peak of its power, its territories reached the Indus River in the east and the Euphrates River in the west, touching the Roman Empire, and was bordered by the Indian Ocean to the south and the Caspian Sea to the north. In the world situation of that period, it was one of the three powerful empires which occupied the territories stretching from the Pacific coast in the east and the Atlantic coast on the west. The Parthian Empire was in western Asia; the Qin and Han Empires were on its east; and the Roman Empire was on its west. Speaking from its historical position, Parthia inherited the Ancient Persian Empire, the Empire of Alexander the Great, and the Se-liu-ku Empire, and it ruled western Asia, forming a bridge between the two great empires, one on the east and one on the west. From its independence in 250 B.C. to 226 A.D., its power flourished for more than 470 years, then it was overthrown by Shanshan Persia. In the trend of the ancient world historical development up to this period, we can see very clearly that its center was neither in Europe nor in Asia. Our attention should focus on the complete unity of the trends of development of the various nations' internal and external struggles.

4. In that period, the world was divided into three great empires, starting from the Pacific coast on the east and bound by the Atlantic coast on the west. At the peak

of the Ch'in and Han dynasties, China's territories were very extensive, running from the Pacific coast in the east to the Pamir Plateau on the west. The Roman Empire was also at its height, and its territories spread over Europe, Asia, and Africa, extending from the Atlantic coast in the west to the Euphrates River Valley in the east. The Parthian Empire was located in western Asia, between the Chinese and Roman Empires. Parthia's relations with China were mostly in trade, while those with the Roman Empire were mostly military. Between the Roman Empire and Parthia, there were no high mountains to serve as a barrier. Each sought to expand its territories in order to consolidate its imperial powers; thus they had numerous wars. From the first century A.D. to the middle of the third century when Parthia's power began to decline and Sha-shan Persia rose, there was constant fighting between Parthia and the Roman Empire. It was not so in the relations between Parthia and China. Their relations were mostly in trade and commerce.

China had also established direct trade relations with Bactria, Parthia, and Sha-shan Persia. And through these nations, she had established indirect trade relations with the Roman Empire. The products which China sold to the western countries were principally silk products, iron products, and furs. The products which the Roman Empire sold to China consisted chiefly of woolen goods, herbs, dyes, precious stones and metallic products. The trade between China and the Roman Empire had to pass through Parthia and was carried on indirectly; thus, there were many obstacles. For instance, in 97 A.D., the ninth year of Yung-yuan in the reign of Emperor Ho of the Han Dynasty, Pen-chou of China sent Kan-ying as an envoy to the Roman Empire. When Kan-ying reached the Persian Gulf within the territory of Parthia, he intended to circumvent the Arabian Peninsula and pass through the Red Sea into the Roman Empire and thus to Rome. But his voyage was stopped by the boats in Parthia, so he could not continue his journey. Parthia's aim was to stop the silk trade between China and the Roman Empire. In those days, the people of Rome established trade relations with Parthia and India by sea. The Roman authorities desired to send envoys directly to China; but Parthia wanted to monopolize the silk trade, so it did not permit the Chinese people to trade with the Roman people. This is proof that there was a prosperous trade between the East and the West. Because trade was flourishing, there was no effective way to stop it. Therefore, in 166 A.D., the ninth year of Yen-hsi in the reign

of Emperor Huan of the Han Dynasty, Emperor Antoninus of the Roman Empire sent an envoy to China by sea with such objects as ivory, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell products.

II. The Development before the Fifteenth Century

The fifteenth century was the great transformation period in the trend of world historical development. Prior to this, historical development was principally limited to the various parts of the continent, but later, expansion began to the overseas areas. We can point out several factors contributing to the trend of historical development of the various internal parts of the continent: first, there were the great movements of the various tribes of people in the various areas; following this, there was the rise of religious power among these tribes of people; and the development of religious power again promoted the great consolidation of the feudal order in the various places.

1. For instance, in eastern Asia in the third century, there were several northwestern tribes moving towards the southeast. They entered the territory of the Chinese Tsin dynasty and mingled with the Chinese tribes. These tribes were generally known as the Wu-hu or the five barbarian tribes, including the Tartars, the Hsiung-nu, the Hsien-p'i, and the chih, and the ch'iang. They continuously moved toward the southeast and established their own kingdom as the Germans had set up their own kingdom as they moved southwest into the Roman Empire. In the 136 years between 304 and 439, these people established 16 kingdoms. These kingdoms continued to merge together until finally a leader of the Hsien-p'i tribe, Toba, established the Wei Empire as an opposing force to the Han Empire in the south. Similarly, the German states opposed the Eastern Roman Empire. These southward-moving tribes opposed the Han people until 581, when the Sui Empire was established and this opposition was eliminated. After that, there was a long reign of a united empire.

In the process of the movement, living, and mutual assimilation of the various tribes, the Buddhist religion began to penetrate into the various nations in Southeast Asia. China, Korea, Japan, and the nations in Southeast Asia were the countries where Buddhism prevailed. The spread of Buddhism into China began at the end of the second century B.C., but the large-scale penetration took place in the first century A.D. after the Yueh-chih Empire was

established. At the end of the first century, Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han Dynasty sent people to the Yueh-chih Empire to copy Buddhist classics, to look for Buddhist idols, and to invite priests back to China. After that, Indian Buddhism became very popular in China, and from there it spread to Korea and Japan. After Buddhism had entered China, all those cultures that were related to Buddhism also came into China. For instance, language, literature, philosophical ideas, and the arts, including art, music, sculpture, and architecture, all added new elements to the Chinese culture. Even those cultures in India that were influenced by the Greek culture followed Buddhism into China. In the middle centuries, the people in the various levels of Chinese society, standing on different positions, accepted or utilized Buddhism. The highest rulers, such as the emperors, utilized Buddhism as a means to rule their people. The feudal lords utilized Buddhism as a means to evade public duties, to protect their property, and to help consolidate their rule. The poor peasants also utilized Buddhism to intoxicate themselves.

2. In eastern Asia, as the northwestern tribes were moving southeastward to penetrate into the Han Empire, in Europe, the northeastern German tribes were also making a southeastward movement, penetrating into the Roman Empire. As early as the period of Augustus German tribes began to penetrate into the Roman territories. At the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century, they began to make a large-scale movement southward. Because they were oppressed by the Tartars, they had to move towards the southwest. They crossed the Danube River and the Rhine River and entered the Roman Empire. At that time, the slaves and the poor peasants in the Roman Empire were revolting against their rulers, so they allied themselves with these newcomers. In 476, they overthrew the Roman Empire. After the German tribes penetrated into the Roman Empire, they built up their own states. In Gaul, the Franks established their kingdom. On the Spanish Peninsula, the Western Goths established their kingdom. On the Italian Peninsula, the Eastern Goths established their kingdom. In northern Africa, the Van-ta people established their kingdom. The most important was the Frankish Kingdom. Later, Charlemagne, the leader of the German tribes, attempted to re-establish the Roman Empire. In 800, he was formally crowned by Pope Leo III, and became the Emperor of the Western Roman Empire. However, the West Roman Empire was not really re-established; but this showed how greatly Christianity

had influenced the German tribes.

The Christian religion had its beginning after the Hebrew religion. Its place of origin was Asia. Very soon after its establishment, it spread to various places in Asia and Europe, and it was especially popular in Europe. Just like Buddhism, it originated in India; but soon after the birth of Christ, it spread to various places in Southeast Asia, and it was especially popular in China. When Christianity first reached Europe, the poor people accepted it as a means of self-intoxication. All small workers, artisans, small store keepers, small merchants, and slaves became its adherents. The feudal lords merely joined the church and assumed the name of a Christian, or they offered some property to the church in order to seek a superior position in return. This gave protection to their properties but also exempted them from military conscription. It even helped them to consolidate their rule, just as the feudal landlords in China were helped by joining the monasteries. As to the highest rulers, the emperors, who wished to consolidate their rule, soon after the third century, they also utilized Christianity as a tool. In 311, Emperor Chia-le-liu was the first ruler to issue an order to protect the church. Two years later, Emperor Constantine formally declared tolerance for the Christian religion. By the end of the fourth century, Emperor Chiao-to-hsiu accepted Christianity as the state religion. After their migration southward, the German tribes penetrated into the Roman Empire. On the one hand, they absorbed the Roman culture, and on the other hand, they gradually became Christian followers. The Christian faith had exerted a consolidating affect on the feudal order among the German states, just as Buddhism had consolidated the feudal order in the various nations in Southeast Asia.

3. The period when the German tribes were moving southward and when the Christian faith was spreading westward is often called the Dark Ages by the capitalist historians. In reality, perhaps there is no objection to calling this period in Europe the Dark Ages. But it was not a dark age for the other places in the world at that time. In China, it was then that the cultures of the Han and T'ang Dynasties were at their height, so it should not be called the dark ages. During the same period, the Arabian Empire grew up on the borders of Europe and extended through western Asia, north Africa, and southwest Europe. The Arabian Empire was the realm of Mohammedanism, which was a religion created by the followers of Mohammed on the Arabian Peninsula. It lasted for more than 600 years, from 632, when Mohammed died, till 1258, when the Mongolian Empire conquered it.

In the eighth century, the Arabian Empire was at its height. Its territories were so vast that they were unprecedented in history. The domain of the Arabian Empire stretched from the banks of the Indus River westward to the Atlantic coast. Its territories included all Spain and all of the countries along the north coast of Africa. In Asia, it occupied most of the area west of the Indus River, east of the Mediterranean Sea, south of the Caucasus, and north of the Persian Gulf. All of the countries in this vast region were under its rule. In the northwest, the Arabian Empire touched the Eastern Roman Empire, and in the northeast, it touched China.

The Moslem Empire, from its creation, employed military force in its expansion, and wherever its power reached, its merchants followed. As time passed, the merchants' power also grew very strong. They traded far and wide, moving eastward to the southeastern part of Asia, including China, Korea, and India. The Moslem traders sold such products as sugar, dates, camphor, cotton, ironware, and glassware to China. They went west to the southwestern part of Europe and to the Atlantic coast; and in the northwestern part of Africa, they expanded to the Atlantic coast. In the north, they went as far as the Baltic Sea. In the past, anthropologists have found 13,000 eleventh century Arabian coins in various places along the Baltic coast and in Esthonia. There prove that the Moslem traders carried commerce as far as the Baltic Sea. In the south, they reached the heart of Africa and its southwest coast. There were three large trading centers controlled by the Moslems: one was Pao-ta, an international trading center on the bank of the Tigris River, the second was Ko-to-wa, an international trading center in Spain for the European area and the third was Alexandria, an international trading center in Egypt for the African area. At the same time the trading centers were cultural centers. The A-pa-ssu Dynasty was established in Pao-ta in 749 and it lasted for more than 500 years until in 1258 when the Mongolians conquered it. During this period, this became the center of cultural exchange between the East and the West.

In Pao-ta, the important achievement of the Moslem scholars was their study of the Greek classics. In Ko-to-wa, the important achievement of the Moslem scholars was the establishment of contact between the cultures of the East and the West. The former transmitted Greek knowledge into Asia, while the latter transmitted Moslem knowledge into Europe. In the tenth century, the A-mei-yeh Dynasty was the strongest and Ko-to-wa became the cultural center. When

the Moslem culture was flourishing in Pao-ta and Ko-to-wa, Alexandria in Africa also became a Moslem cultural center. Here, the leaders of the Fatima Dynasty had done their best to promote knowledge. Its cultural development sometimes equaled that in Pao-ta. In short, the development of knowledge in the Moslem Empire was extremely high; and it was especially famous for historical and geographical knowledge. According to what Hajt Khalifah has said, there were no less than 1,200 varieties of historical writings. There were countless others that were lost and unknown. This, of course, was entirely different from the dark ages in Europe.

4. In the last two hundred years of the Moslem Empire, the eastern territory, the vast region between the Indus River and the Tigris River, was almost entirely dominated by the Turks, while the Empire was merely one in name. The Turks started from Turkestan, with the Seljuks, a branch of the Turkic people, as the leaders, and penetrated into the Moslem Empire. After they were recognized by the Empire, they vigorously built up their strength in western Asia. At the height of their power, their influence reached southwestward into Egypt, northwestward into the Eastern Roman Empire, and eastward across the T'ung-ling. The position of the Seljuks in western Asia at that time was comparable to that of the Franks in Europe. Both of these peoples prospered in the same period of time. In the eyes of the Christians in the Roman Empire, the Franks were barbarians from the north, while in the eyes of the Mohammedans in the Moslem Empire, the Seljuks were also barbarians from the north. Though they were barbarians, the Franks were faithful followers of the Christian faith; similarly, though they were barbarians, the Seljuks were faithful followers of the Moslem religion. During the eastern expedition of the Crusades, the Franks went to the east to fight for the Christians, while the Seljuks went west to fight for the Moslems.

The religious controversy between the East and the West started in the Sha-shan Persia period, continued through the peak of the Arabian Empire till the domination of the Seljuk Turks, and it never was settled. During the Sha-shan Persia period, Emperor Shapur massacred countless Christians. During the height of the Arabian Empire, Mutawakkil, a ruler, oppressed the Christians. During the Seljuk domination, there was a group of so-called assilants persecuting the Christians. All these not only oppressed the Christians but also constituted a blow to the East Roman Empire. In 1071, because its army was defeated at the hands of the Seljuks, the East Roman Empire appealed to the Christian world in the West for help. Pope Urban II responded and promised help. Consequently, the Crusades were formed.

From 1095 to 1291, the eastern expedition of the Crusades took place, and lasted nearly 200 years. This long period of war greatly affected the European economy. During these 200 years, the commercial relations between the East and the West was very close. The Moslem merchants often gathered the valuable products from the various areas in the East and sent them to Palestine and other commercial cities in Syria. Then, the merchants from Venice in Italy brought back these products and sold them to the feudal lords in Europe. As such, the living standards of the feudal aristocrats in Europe became more and more extravagant, and thereby the monetary system began to gradually take shape under their hands. In addition, there was another great indirect influence. This was the desire that compelled the European merchants to seek new territories overseas. Because of the eastern expedition of the crusades, the European merchants came to know that the east was a vast territory and rich in material products. Later, because the land route between the East and the West was blocked, the merchants were forced to look for a sea route to the East. As the result of their desire to go east by sea, they discovered many new lands. This was the beginning of the transition from the middle ages to the modern times.

5. Though the eastern expedition of the Crusades lasted for 200 years, it was not a serious blow to the Moslem people, and it did not overthrow the Moslem Empire. The ones who actually overthrew the Moslem Empire were the Mongolians. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the various Mongolian tribes were gradually solidified by Genghis Khan, who established the foundation of the forthcoming Mongolian Empire. In 1206, Genghis Khan became the supreme ruler. At the same time, he ordered Kublai Khan and Chiepieh, two powerful generals to conquer the various regions. They first conquered Bactria and the area of the Jin Dynasty of the Nu-chen Tartars. Then, they conquered all the territory south of the Tien-shan; thence they subdued Korea and also planned to invade Japan. Finally they conquered Indo-China. After all these conquests, they returned and invaded the territory of the Southern Sung Dynasty in China. With these as their foundation, they established the Mongolian Empire. At the height of the Empire, they put great efforts into developing their culture. They first created a Mongolian language, translated the classics of the Han tribes, especially those books concerning politics and morals, and tolerated the various types of religions. Buddhism was respected, and so were Christianity, Mohammedanism, and the Hebrew religion. Under Mongolian rule, the scholars of the

various countries east and west of T'ung-ling made great studies of Chinese philosophy, literature, and art.

When the Mongolian Empire was established, its military strength had already been spread to western Asia, the European portion of Russia, and the various regions in the Danube River region by the Mongolian generals, such as Che-pieh, Su-pu-tai, and several others. They first occupied the regions in Central Asia and Iran and defeated the Hua-ch'i-tzu-mu country, and then they invaded the countries west of the Caspian Sea and attacked Asia Minor. In 1222 and 1223, they also conquered many areas in Russia and established the so-called Ch'in-ch'a-han State, which was directly under the Mongolian Empire, and ruled the European portion of Russia for more than 200 years. The westward penetration of the Mongolians not only reached Russia in Europe but also invade the Danube River areas. From 1240 to 1242, under the leadership of Pa-to, they attacked Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Serbia, and went on to the Mediterranean coast. Their terror shocked all the countries of Europe. They finally overthrew the Moslem Empire in 1258, when they captured Pao-ta, the largest city of the lower reaches of the Tigris River and the Capital of the Moslem Empire. From its establishment in 749 by the ruler A-pa-ssu of the Moslem Empire or the Arabian Empire to its downfall, the empire lasted over 500 years. Judging from the above facts, the stage of world history in the middle ages was not limited to Europe alone.

III. From the Middle Ages to Modern Times

Though the stage of world history in the middle ages was not limited to Europe, it was restricted to the three continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa. Before the fifteenth century, that is, before the discovery of the New World, the activities of the people throughout the world, as we know them, were all limited within the sphere of these three continents. At the time, though trade between the East and the West was very prosperous, most of the communications between them relied on the land routes. By the fifteenth century, the situation was different, the land activities between the East and the West were expanded overseas. The scope of their activities was expanded from within a portion of the three continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa to include Asia, Australia, Europe, Africa, and North and South America. It was also because of the success of the various countries's oversea activities that the commanding position

of the people of the yellow race in Asia was seized by the people of the west. Thus, this had created a great transformation in the world historical development.

1. Asia's overseas activities started earlier than those of Europe. For instance, China sent Cheng Ho as an envoy to the various countries. His mission started from the beginning of the fifteenth century, covering 30 years of that period. Cheng Ho carried out seven missions as an envoy. Starting from the third year of Yung-lo of the Ming Dynasty, that is, from 1405, to the fifth year of Hsuan-te, 1430, his missions lasted for more than 20 years and he visited over 30 nations. The various states along India's coast included such countries as: Ku-li, K'o-chih, Ta-ko-lun, Hsiao-ko-lun, Hsiang-so-li, Chia-i-la, A-pa-pa-tan, Kan-pa-li, Ceylong, Liu-shan and Pang-ko-chi. All these countries began to trade with China. The various states along the coasts of Persia and Arabia, such as Hu-lo-mo-ssu, Tsoufa-erh, Chi-sha, A-tan, and Tien-feng, also established trade relations with China. The countries along the eastern coast of Africa, such as Mu-ku-to-tz'u, Ma-lin, Pi-chi, Sha-li-wan-ni, and Chu-pu, also came to trade with China.

Through China's overseas activities took place earlier than those in Europe, she never did attain the success that was attained by the European countries. Take trade as an illustration, from the very beginning, she failed utterly.

- (1) Her trade with her neighboring countries in the southeast was conducted in the form of homage being paid to her by the vassal states, and the trade was not large at all.
- (2) China's trade with Japan was never established. All China got was the tragedy of "interference from Japan."
- (3) Though trade relations were established between the western countries and China, the initiative was on the side of the western countries. China seemed to have the initiative in the trade with her neighboring countries in the southeast, but these countries were small and their population was not large, so their market was limited. It did not stimulate China's production, nor did it actuate the development of her industries. As to her trade with the European countries, China was completely in the passive position. The market in the neighboring countries in Europe was completely dominated by the European countries, such as Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and Britain, were totally different from those of China. They all attained great success. Europe's trade with the East in the Middle Ages relied completely on the land route. After the rise of the Turks in 1453, they captured Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. After the complete downfall of the

Eastern Roman Empire, the trade relationships between the East and the West gradually changed. The European traders felt that the land route to the East was not as convenient as before, so they turned to activities beyond the seas. At the end of the fifteenth century and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, they first opened a sea route between the West and the East. Sailing on the sea was a great convenience. Starting from Europe, they followed a course along North Africa and West Africa and around South Africa. From there, they could reach the various countries in Asia. Again, they might go from Europe to North America, then to Central America and around South America so that they could reach Asia directly.

After the sea routes between the East and West were established, Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and Britain all participated in overseas activities, competing for the commercial supremacy, and they began the primitive accumulation activities of capitalism. First of all, the Portuguese invaded the East. Their purpose of opening up the sea route was to establish their commercial supremacy in the Far East, expanding their power over India, China, Japan, and the other countries. Next, the Spanish developed their overseas activities. As the Portuguese invaded the East, the Spanish expanded their power over the backward people in Central and South America. Their main purpose was to obtain gold, silver, and mineral products. In the early part of the seventeenth century, Dutch sea power was rising rapidly. They not only were very strong in Europe, but also held commercial supremacy in the East and West Indies. When they were at the peak of their power, on the one hand, they defeated the Portuguese commercial strength in the Far East, and on the other hand, they dealt a blow to Britain's trade development in India. After that, they replaced the Portuguese position and monopolized the spice trade of the Islands. Then they established direct trade with China and Japan. While the above-mentioned powers were struggling for overseas supremacy, France's foreign trade was also rapidly developing. France had very close trade relations with Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Britain. Her trade with the Americas and the various countries in Southeast Asia was also greatly developed during this period. But the country that attained the final success in overseas trade was Britain. In the Americas, whether it was in Newfoundland or New England in North America, in the West Indies in Central America, or in the Spanish colonies in South America, there was always a British trading center or a colonial base. In Asia, India was a great center, with Bombay on its southwestern coast and

Calcutta on the southeastern coast and other places such as Madras to serve as centers where the British carried out their activities. As early as 1602, British trading ships had already reached the Malacca Islands in Southeast Asia. In Africa, Guinea and the other areas along the coast also fell under British influence.

3. The success of the over seas activities of these European countries brought about a new change in the trend of world historical development. From then on, the world leadership of the yellow race in Asia was lost to the white race in Europe. For the same reason, the development of the capitalist production system in Europe was earlier than that in all the other countries. The success of the overseas activities was nothing more than the success of the primitive accumulations. This success promoted their domestic production and enabled production to develop rapidly. Because of technical reforms and the application of machinery, and so-called Industrial Revolution was brought about. When the Industrial Revolution was realized, it meant the rapid development of the capitalist production system. In the process of this development, the power of the capitalist class was strengthened. After the capitalist class became strong, it overthrew the rule of the feudal lords and they freed themselves from all feudal restrictions. Consequently, the capitalist class in every country brought about a revolt or a similar struggle. At first, there was the capitalist class revolt in the Netherlands, then the British capitalist class revolt and the French capitalist class revolt. All these were in Europe. In North America, there was an independence movement. With the success of the independence movement, its capitalist class also joined the capitalist class in Europe. On the one hand, it promoted capitalism, and on the other hand, like the European capitalist class, it joined in the overseas development and enslavement of the world's backward countries. This was the revolution in America. In Japan, there were the Meiji reforms, while in China, there were the Wu-shu reform and the 1911 Revolution. But in Asia, and especially in China, because the overseas activities failed, the capitalist production system was not successful, so capitalism did not develop in China. On the contrary, China fell into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial status. It need not be mentioned that capitalism was not successful in India and the other Asiatic countries. This was the situation in Asia. As to the country that existed between Asia and Europe, Russia, because of the success of the capitalist revolution in Europe and the failure of the capitalist class's revolt in Asia, she had long wished to

follow the European example or the westernization movement. Though she was finally successful in her capitalist revolution and overthrew the feudal rule, her capitalist class revolt took place very much later than that of the European capitalist class.

In overseas activities, the European countries were the first ones to be successful, and in the capitalist class revolution, it was again the European countries that were successful earlier. When they were carrying out the overseas activities, and when they made their primitive accumulations, they began to enslave the people of the Southeast Asiatic countries, of the African countries, and of the Latin American countries. When capitalism flourished and when they promoted commercial products, they again directly or indirectly enslaved more of the people of the various countries. As they reached the imperialist stage, they enslaved the people of the various countries with unprecedented mercilessness.

4. Before the influence of the European capitalist class had penetrated into the various countries, the people of these countries had their own way of living and had their own positions. They were not different from the people of the European countries. But after the penetration of the influence of the European capitalist class, the livelihood of the people in these countries was seriously affected, and their national position was also lost. Almost all of the countries in Southeast Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America became colonies to the European countries and became their vassal states. The natives of Latin America had a history of their own and their culture was also very high. Soon after the penetration of the Latin speaking people, such as the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the French, these natives were almost gradually eliminated. Those that could keep their blood heritage and livelihood in tact, were very few. Consequently, all the countries in South America, Central America, Mexico, and the West Indies were called Latin Americans. Now, nobody dismisses the fortunes of the original natives of these areas. After the Latin American countries became fully established, many new comers came to live there. In the first half of the nineteenth century, these newcomers revolted and freed themselves from their mother countries in Europe. They should have attained real independence. But as a matter of fact, soon after they had attained their independence, they fell under the control of the American capitalist class, and became its vassal states.

The natives of Africa also had a very long history and their culture was also very high. But after the power

of the capitalist class in the European countries had penetrated into Africa, these natives lost their national position and became vassal states to the European countries; and their people fell into slavery. They lost countless numbers of their people under European oppression. For instance, at present, everybody is greatly concerned over the people of the Congo because they are being destroyed by the Belgian capitalist class in great numbers. Such a fate is almost the common lot of all the people in Africa. Even the Egyptian people, who had the earliest civilization in the world, are no exceptions. As to the countries in Southeast Asia, their history was very long and most of them were ancient civilized nations. But after the power of the European capitalist class had penetrated in among them, their fate was almost the same as that of the people in Africa and Latin America. Indonesia was once a Dutch colony; Indochina was once a French colony; Burma was once a British colony; Thailand was once a colony under British and French domination; and India was once a British colony. Even the great People's Republic of China, which has a very long record of historical development and a very rich cultural heritage, was once in the status of a common colony to the various countries. Until the eve of Liberation, China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Only Japan was fortunate enough to have escaped this fate. Later, she herself became an imperialist country. Like the United States, Japan joined the ranks of the imperialist powers and attained a ranking position even though her appearance was rather late.

5. When the people of the Asiatic, African, and Latin American countries began to be enslaved by the European capitalist class, it was their turn to make contributions to world historical development. It was then that these people, directly or indirectly, fell under the domination of the European capitalist class, served its production, and created surplus values for it. But, their creation was monopolized by the European capitalist class. Through the military strength, political power, and religious authority of their respective countries, the European capitalist class carried out an economic penetration into the Asiatic, African, and Latin American countries. Perhaps, these capitalist undertook commercial enterprises. They shipped the surplus commodities from their own countries into these unfortunate nations, and by utilizing the help of the local reactionary ruling class, they sold these goods to the feudal land lords, bureaucrats, and compradores, but the price of these goods was borne by the masses of laboring people. At times, these capitalists undertook to operate industrial and agricultural

enterprises. They invested surplus capital from their own countries in these backward countries, and by utilizing the help of the local reactionary ruling class, they directly undertook to operate production enterprises. Also, they collaborated with the feudal landlords, bureaucrats, and compradores and undertook the operation of production enterprises, while the surplus values were created by the masses of laboring people. Perhaps, these capitalists would operate mining enterprises and transportation and communication enterprises. They invested the surplus capital from their own countries, through the form of loans made to the reactionary governments, while they themselves controlled the enterprises in directly. But the payment of debts and interest was the burden of the masses of laboring people.

Wherever the capital had reached, first of all, the local native people were the object of slavery and exploitation. Accordingly, under the influence of foreign capital, it was the native people who created the surplus values. After the power of capital had expanded, the supply of native people in the original place became insufficient, so the slave traders captured people from the other places to supply the first place. For instance, natives of Africa were captured and sent to Latin America to supply the European capitalist class' exploitation. In the beginning, when Latin America was developed, the local native people were enslaved and exploited. Later, when the power of foreign capital was expanded, the supply of local laboring people was inadequate, so the European capitalist class sought manpower from the slave traders in Africa and sent slaves to Latin America, causing them to serve foreign capital for life, to work hard, and to contribute surplus values.

The slave trade was started very early. There were many merchants in the various countries who undertook this trade. For instance, Portugese, Spanish, Dutch, British, and Danish merchants participated in the African slave trade and sent slaves to Latin America to work there for life. In Brazil, after the importation of negroes, the number of slaves continued to increase, until 1850 the number of negroes became one half of the population in the country. At the height of the merciless slave trade, the number of negroes captured and sent to Latin America as slaves each year frequently ran as high as 50,000 to 100,000. These slaves had a life worse than that of animals. All they did was to create surplus values for the European capitalist class.

IV. The Development of the New Trend

When the people of the various countries were being enslaved and exploited by the foreign capitalist class, it was then that they began to resist. The more furious the imperialists' invasion was, the more unprecedented the people's resistance struggle became.

1. As capitalism developed till 1873, and after it had met a greater crisis, it advanced into the period of monopolies. Between 1873 and 1900, all combined organizations, such as the cartel, and the trust, and the syndicate, became prevailing. Imperialism began to flourish. Again, after the great crisis in 1900 to 1903, the period of monopolies developed into the period of imperialism, which was the last stage of capitalism. In this period, the imperialists were threatened by economic crises, so they struggled for foreign markets and for colonies in order to send out their surplus commodities and surplus capital. They also strove for foreign raw materials and the utilization of foreign labor in order to avoid the crisis and to continue the expansion of production. Consequently, a war for the division of world markets was inevitable. One of the causes for the First World War had its origin in this.

In 1914, the First World War was ignited by the Assassination of the Austrian prince. Soon after the outbreak of the war, many nations were involved in the fighting, participating on either side of the war. On the one side were Britain, France, and Russia, known as the Allied Powers, while on the other side were Germany, Austria, and Italy, known as the Central Powers. For the purpose of invasion, the two sides invaded each other. Till the end of 1918, the Allied Powers were victorious. With the exception of Italy, which broke away from the alliance, the Central Powers signed an armistice with the Allied Powers. The loss was so great that it was really unprecedented in world history. From 1914 to 1918, the two sides had mobilized 70 million people, with 10 million killed, 19 million injured, and 3.5 million disabled. In addition, a great number of people died because of sickness and starvation. As to material losses, many cities and villages were ruined, and many bridges, railways, and factories were destroyed. In order to struggle for markets and colonies, the imperialists had attained such results. Only the new imperialist country, the United States, derived benefits from this war. On the one hand, it joined the war rather late, so it sustained less losses. Because its ships were sunk by German submarines, imperialist America joined the war in April 1917 on the side of the Allied Powers. In its war against Germany, the United States' losses were limited. On the other hand, the loans

to the belligerent nations in Europe were all made by the United States; thus, the United States became the debtor nation and held control over the European economy.

2. In the process of the First World War, there was one event that shocked the world, and that was the Socialist October Revolution of 1916. On 7 November 1917, that is, the 25th of October on the Russian calendar, Russia's laboring people, under the leadership of Lenin, changed the imperialist war into an internal revolutionary war. A socialist revolution broke out in Russia and established a proletarian dictatorship. In December, the Russians made a separate peace treaty with Germany. They accepted the peace terms with Germany, so that Russia could break away from the imperialist war. They signed the peace treaty with Germany on 3 March 1918. At that time, a great socialist country came into the world, creating a shock for the world capitalist camp, and beginning a new trend in the world historical development. In the world historical development, the October Revolution has an epoch-making meaning. It has enabled the workers, the employed, the oppressed, and the exploited, for the first time since the beginning of world history, to rise to the position of the masters. They served as a model, encouraging the proletariat throughout the world. All the productive tools and materials which belonged to the capitalists were declared to be the public property of society.

With this beginning, the socialist productive system was formally established. The October Revolution started a new age, enabling the people of all the oppressed countries in the world to make an alliance with the proletariat, under whose leadership, they carried out the colonial revolutions. The October Revolution established the foundation for the world revolution. For the first time, the proletarian dictatorship was established and created a strong center for the world revolution movement. This center encouraged the world proletariat and the oppressed nations to unite together to resist imperialism. After the October Revolution, the dark world ruled by imperialism was divided into two parts. On the one hand is the capitalist world, and on the other hand, the socialist world. The power of the socialist world rises gradually, while that of the capitalist world falls gradually. The people of the Asiatic, African, and Latin American countries are unprecedentedly encouraged.

3. Since the rise of the socialist world, though the power of the capitalist world is declining, it has not yet completely fallen. Not only this, but the imperialists, on the road of their decline, are struggling desperately and

trying to rescue themselves from the downfall; and they continue to enslave and exploit the oppressed people of the various countries. In order to prevent conflicts among themselves and to maintain the status quo, they have tried a series of methods. First, they organized the so-called League of Nations, then, the so-called Washington Conference, and again the Locarno Treaty, the Paris Peace Pact, the London Naval Disarmament Conference, and the Geneva Disarmament Conference. With all these, they believed that the status quo could be maintained and that the enslavement and exploitation of the people of the oppressed countries could be continued in due time. No one knows that it is not so. When the socialist world was developing rapidly, the capitalist world was dealt two successive blows: the economic crises of 1929 and 1933. At the end of 1929, the economic crisis first broke out in the United States and spread through the entire world, creating an economic crisis throughout the capitalist world. After the beginning of the crisis, the imperialists adopted various remedies, such as raising the tariff so as to prevent the increase of imports, devaluing their currency so as to encourage exports, accelerating their exploitation over the workers so as to attain temporary prosperity, and developing the armament industry so as to create a false prosperity.

But the periodical crisis has changed into a general crisis and general prosperity has not been realized. Under the continuous threat of economic crisis, the imperialists must seek a way out to overcome their difficulties. Besides expanding their armaments, preparing for war, struggling for markets, and furiously attacking the people of the Asiatic, African, and Latin American countries, they have no other way out. Accordingly, they all have expanded their armaments. From 1932 to 1936, the British military budget increased from 104 million pounds to 140 million pounds. From 1933 to 1936, the American military budget increased from \$628 million to \$1,161 million. From 1933 to 1936, Japan's military budget increased from 454 million yen to 1,322 million yen. After the war, Germany was disarmed; but with Hitler, the Nazi bandits came into power, and Germany was again armed. From 1933 to 1935, her military budget was suddenly increased to 1,500 million pounds. In 1933, Hitler came into power and adopted a policy of aggression. In March 1936, he openly scraped the Locarno Treaty and again stationed armed forces in the Rhineland. He began his invasion into the various countries. He first conquered Austria and Czechoslovakia. About this time, the Italian Fascist army invaded Abyssinia, and the Japanese warlords were just

attacking the Northeastern Provinces in China. On 7 July 1937, Japan openly attacked Lo-kou-chiao. Thus, the Second World War broke out. Only after eight years, in the latter part of 1945, Germany, Italy, and Japan were defeated. They all surrendered and the great war was brought to an end.

4. In the anti-Facist Second World War, the people of China and the Soviet Union contributed decisive strength to the defeat of Facism. During the war, Britain, the United States, and France, the imperialist countries, encouraged Germany, Italy, and Japan to attack the Soviet Union first, hoping that the latter four countries would all be seriously injured, so that they themselves would be victorious. As a result, the end turned out to be against their wishes. The Facist countries were defeated as a matter of course, but Britain and France were also greatly weakened. However, the socialist Soviet Union remained undisturbed. Following this, there was the appearance of the numerous socialist countries in eastern Europe, enlarging the socialist camp. The Chinese people, after more than 100 years of struggle against aggression and the longest fighting in the Second World War, were hardened into steel and iron. In 1949, under the leadership of the Communist Party, they finally attained their great victory for the people's revolution over imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. Thus, they put an end to the long history of oppression and slavery, and established the Chinese People's Republic, where in the people assume the democratic dictatorship. The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic is an epoch-making event in the world historical development. She has strengthened the socialist camp, encouraged the national liberation movement, and dealt a blow to the forces of imperialism, and especially to American imperialism. After the defeat of the Facists in Germany, Italy and Japan, the American imperialists adopted their old methods and hoped to dominate the whole world and to enslave the people of the Asiatic, African, and the Latin American countries. But in China, America's support to the reactionary ruling class was given a deadly blow by the Chinese people. In Korea, America's support to the reactionary ruling class was also given a deadly blow by the Chinese and Korean people.

However, though the American imperialists were dealt a deadly blow, it was not equivalent to complete destruction. While yet not completely destroyed, the United States is still struggling on and it remains to be the most furious enemy to the people of the world, occupying China's territory of Formosa, supporting the puppet states by controlling South Korea and South Viet Nam, constantly hampering the revolution in Cuba and becoming an enemy to the Cuban people,

interfering in the internal affairs in the Congo and becoming an enemy to the people of the Congo, and interfering in the internal affairs in Laos and becoming an enemy to the people of Laos. In short, in order to prevent its own destruction and to struggle to the end, the United States is trying its best to destroy the national independence of all the Asiatic, African, and Latin American countries, and to enslave their people. Under these circumstances, with the Soviet Union as the head of the socialist camp, all the countries that are carrying on their national liberation movement, the proletariat, and the peace-loving people of the capitalist countries have united together to struggle against the most furious enemy. Today, we all rely on the solidarity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement in order to energetically strive for world peace, national liberations, and democratic and socialist victories.

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THE PARIS COMMUNE AND INTERNATIONALISM

Following is the translation of an article by Chang Tzu-fan (1728 1311 0416), in Li-shih Yen-chiu, No. 2, Peiping, 15 April 1961, pp. 41-58.

I.

Ninty years ago, on 18 March 1871, the proletariat in Paris undertook an earth-shaking revolution, broke through the restrictions of the old world, overthrew the French capitalistic rule, and created a new type of state for the first time in human history. This was the Paris Commune which the proletariat in the various countries has been commemorating ever since.

The Paris Commune was a great epoch-making revolution. It was the first demonstration by the proletariat, trying to overthrow the capitalist system. It had an overall world historical meaning. With sky-high revolutionary morale and creative spirit, the Paris proletariat created an example of revolution for the proletariat in the various countries and the people throughout the world. They paved the road for liberation, left many extremely valuable experiences and lessons, and established the prelude for the creation of a new world. Through its own revolutionary practices, the Paris Commune proved that Marxism is completely correct, and that, at the same time, it is a "practical step which is more important than several hundred types of outlines and discussions,"¹ enabling the founders of scientific communism, Marx and Engels, to further enrich and develop their own theories. Even though the Paris Commune was produced principally by the Proletariat's initiative and instinct, its experience was preliminary and incomplete. It had no time for the great plan of reforming society. Even though the Paris Commune failed because it was restricted by the historical factors of the time and by the immaturity of the laboring people and because there was no guidance from a united proletarian vanguard which has the Marxist world outlook as its guide--the Communist Party, the creation and

the existence of the commune itself was the greatest historic accomplishment and the greatest contribution to internationalism made by the French proletariat. Marx pointed out, "Among all the movements in the past, the most recent and the greatest movement is the Paris Commune."² "No matter what the result of this incident was, it has a world historical meaning which means that the new starting point has been attained."³ Engels also pointed out, "The commune is the grave for the old French society; but at the same time, it is the cradle for the new (speaking of France) international communism."⁴ The very short 72 days of the Paris Commune's existence were really the first time in human history that there was an entirely new epoch in which "one day equals 20 years."

The Paris Commune was the vanguard of proletarian revolution. When the Napoleonic Empire fell and when France was again declared to be a republic, the proletariat in Paris rose in arms in order to resist the Prussian invasion. At that time, the workers and the handicraft workers organized 250 battalions of the people's guards, and the armed force of the Paris working class became the most fearful thing to the French capitalist class. The capitalists felt that "An armed Paris is nothing more than an armed revolution," and that there was the danger of their being buried by their own grave diggers. Between the national struggle and the class struggle, the "National Defense Government," organized by the capitalist usurpers of the state power, had chosen the latter, without a minute of hesitation. The "National Defense Government" was a traitor government. After its assumption of power, the first thing it did was to surrender to Prussia and unite with this national enemy. They turned their guns on the patriotic proletarian compatriots. At dawn on 18 March, the government army was ordered to disarm the people's guards; thus, civil war broke out. The Paris proletariat was forced to rise and resist. In one stroke, they overthrew the reactionary government. The armed uprising won its victory. But, the capitalist class never was willing to give up the historic stage. And, even after their rule was overthrown, the capitalists were never willing to accept their defeat. They did their best to plot for their coming back. Because of their lack of experience and "over-tolerance" at the beginning, the Paris proletariat did not pay enough of attention to this fact. The workers did not firmly carry out the civil war to the end. They did not follow their victory and pursue the reactionaries, but on the contrary, they stopped their attack and took a defensive position. They became busy in the election for the commune, as if their enemy had not started the civil war. After

Thiers and his army fled to Versailles, under the screen of the "compromise drama", he again made new organizations and preparations for a counterattack. The workers did not know that "defensiveness is the road to death for any armed uprising."⁶ As a result, when Bismarck sent back 100,000 French prisoners of war to support the Versailles organization, Paris lost its advantage of attack. Under overwhelming odds, The commune's forces fought a brave struggle unprecedented in history against the Versailles reactionary army; but they were finally suppressed. Paris once again fell under the terror and into the blood pool of counterrevolution. The deadly mistake made by the Paris proletariat gave us a bloody lesson. Though the Commune failed, it has been forever remembered as the vanguard of the proletarian revolution. Marx pointed out, "The workers' Paris and its Commune will forever be the vanguard of the new society and will be respected by the people."⁷

The Paris Commune was the preliminary model of the proletarian dictatorship. It was the greatest creation of the Paris workers' revolution. After the victory of their uprising, the Paris proletariat felt that they could not utilize the existing state mechanism to carry out their work. They immediately destroyed the old military and bureaucratic machinery and established their commune system. The Commune abolished the regular army, the police force, and the gendarmes, and replaced them with the people's armed force. The commune abolished the bureaucratic system and replaced it with responsible public personnel, who were elected by the people. The Commune declared that the state and the church were separate. The Commune enforced the principle of a democratic centralization system. The Commune was different from the old empty parliamentary system, because it was a combined legislative and administrative machine. The Commune was the "natural delegation" of the peasants' interests. The Commune had tried to establish contact with the outlying provinces and to make an alliance with the peasants, but, because the reactionaries laid siege to Paris and deceived the peasants, the alliance was not realized. But in the organization outline throughout the country, it was stipulated that the commune was to be the political form of even the smallest village. In short, the Commune had created and implemented the dictatorship of a few people and the democracy of the greatest majority of people, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, almost all the committee members of the Commune were not Marxists. The members of the Commune had different views concerning the dictatorship. Under the influence of P'u-lo-tung-ism, some

Commune committee members were intoxicated by "humanitarian" views, and even dreamed of a "compromise" between the classes and opposed any form of dictatorship. The Commune had no dictatorial authority to suppress its class enemy, so its suppression against the counterrevolutionists was not firm enough. They did not know the laws of class struggle, nor did they know that the revolution's victory was definitely not the end of the class struggle. It was to be continued in a new form and in many places; it would be more cruel than before. Though the Commune was defeated on account of the above-mentioned errors, its reality of proletarian dictatorship was the most important point. Marx had emphatically pointed out, "The real secret of the Commune was that, in reality, it was the working class' government. It was the result of a struggle carried out by the producers' class against the possessors' class. It was finally discovered that it was possible for the laborers to attain a political form for their economic liberation."⁸ Engels had also affirmed, "Gentlemen, do you want to know what a proletarian dictatorship is? Just look at the Paris Commune. It is a proletarian dictatorship."⁹

As early as 1848, in the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels had already pointed out the general task and direction for the proletariat to overthrow the capitalist class and to struggle for political power so that it would become the ruling class. Owing to the restrictions of historical factors, at that time, they were not able to point out the overall roads and methods. However, they did not fall into wishful thinking, but they believed in the creation of the mass movement. On seeing the great revolutionary movement start in 1848, Marx pointed out in his book, Louis Bonaparte's Coup d'etat, that it was essential that the state machinery must be destroyed. Accordingly, as soon as he saw the revolutionary creation of the Paris Commune, he definitely suggested, "Now, it should not be as was done before, the mere transferring of bureaucratic and military machinery from A's hands to B's hands; it should be destroyed."¹⁰ "The workers cannot simply control the existing state machinery and apply it to fulfill their own purpose."¹¹ The Paris Commune was a practical illustration of Marx' and Engels' suggestion that the proletarian dictatorship's state machinery should replace the capitalist class' dictatorship's state machinery. As such, they especially made an important supplement to the "Communist Manifesto". The Paris Commune destroyed the old state machinery and established the experience of the proletarian dictatorship. It enriched and helped to develop the Marxist theory of state, especially

the theory concerning the proletarian dictatorship.

The Paris Commune created a socialist trend for social reforms. The Commune was the workers' government. It adopted some social and economic measures which had a socialist coloration or showed a trend of socialist development. In its proclamation to the workers and the peasants, the Commune declared, "The land belongs to the peasants, and the working tools belong to the workers."¹² Even when the Commune was surrounded and when it was carrying on a desperate military struggle against the Versailles organization, it still enforced numerous social and economic reform measures. The Commune decided to turn over to the workers those factories whose owners had fled and those factories that had stopped operation, so that the workers might organize a cooperative to control their production. It also formulated a plan by which these cooperatives might unite into one general cooperative. This type of organization, in the last analysis, must lead to communism.¹³ As to those factories that did not stop operation, the Commune carried out state supervision and workers' supervision. It prohibited the night work for the bread workers and prohibited the operators of the factories to fine the workers or deduct from their wages. In the problems of rents, debts, and pawnshops, which directly affected the people's interests, it adopted measures that were unfavorable to the improvement of their livelihood. Though some of the measures adopted by the Commune were principally democratic reforms in nature, they did "to a certain extent, deeply prick the internal organs of the old system."¹⁴ And they "agreed with the spirit of the German scientific society."¹⁵ But the Commune did not have power to exploit the exploiters, even though it had tried to do so. In this respect, the Commune made a very serious mistake, that is, even when it fell under extreme financial difficulties, it never tried to confiscate the treasury of the French capitalist class, the Bank of France. However, even though that was true, the Commune used its own existence and works to start the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The 18 March 1871 Movement was a revolutionary movement which broke the old society and created a new world. Accordingly, the Paris Commune not only had epoch-making historic meaning but also had a universal international meaning. Engels had gladly pointed out, "The proletariat's holiday is 18 March everywhere."¹⁶

The creation of the Paris Commune was not accidental. Its existence and struggle were not isolated. It would not be "completely lost", because of its defeat. The struggle that the Paris proletariat undertook was the common enterprise

which belonged to the proletariat in every country. At that time, there were the Franco-Prussian War, the French Civil War, and the war, which Marx called "the Third War," between the capitalist class of the various countries and the First International. All these wars had a very close relationship with the formation, existence, and defeat of the Paris Commune. These three wars were almost interrelated and intermingled. The proletariat in France, Germany, and other countries, in response to the appeal and influence of the First International, which was under the leadership of Marx, had solidified themselves in these three wars. They mutually helped one another and carried out a united international struggle against their class enemy. In these struggles, they had shown a noble international spirit. Today, in commemorating the 90th anniversary of this worldwide proletariat common glorious holiday and in paying tribute to those heroic members of the Paris Commune and to Marx, we must learn their great morale in their struggle for the world revolution and their great international spirit. This has a very great meaning.

II.

The Paris Commune was the result of the economic and political development since the great revolution in 1789. It was also the direct continuation and the higher development of the workers' revolutionary movement since 1848. Till 1870, the class conflict within France (principally the contradiction between the capitalist class and the proletariat) and the external national conflict (principally the contradiction between the ruling classes in France and Prussia) were intermingled in their development and had reached a very serious situation. The Napoleonic Dynasty could find no way out, so the risk of fighting a war with Prussia was its only hope to overcome all these conflicts. Later, when the French Emperor visited Chi-ni-a, he admitted, "If there were no wars, I almost could not be an emperor."¹⁷ However, war not only did not help the Second Empire to avoid its fateful destiny, but on the other hand, it actuated the advance of the revolution. In a certain respect, the Paris Commune was the product of this war. At the beginning of this war, the French and German workers insisted on an international outlook.

On 19 July 1870, Napoleon III, with an ambition to destroy the unity of Germany and to invade the Rhineland, and Bismarck, with a scheme to unite Germany and to take

possession of Alsace-Lorraine, used the problem of succession to the Spanish throne, which they secretly provoked, as a pretext for declaring war on Prussia. It was a war between the dynasties. In order to protect their common interests, the workers of both France and Germany unanimously rose and opposed this war.

Two months before the outbreak of the war, in order to promote the war and to pretend to investigate the people's attitude towards the Second Empire, Napoleon III held the so-called people's election and prepared the mobilization for war. He hoped to use national chauvinism to cause the working class to forget its own class task and to participate in their own mutual slaughter. The First International and its branches in France appealed to the French people not to participate in the voting, because, if they were to participate in the people's election, "It is equivalent to their support of the internal tyranny and the external war" and because "It is a signal for the slaughtering of the people of several nations."¹⁹ The French working class was not fooled by the enforcement of the Napoleonic system on the other side of the Rhine, and the workers unanimously opposed the people's election. In its "Letter to the Workers of the Various Nations," the Paris Branch of the First International pointed out that this war was merely a "criminal misdemeanor" and it said to the German working brothers, "If we hate one another, it will only enable the tyrannical authorities on both sides of the Rhine to attain a complete victory." At the same time, it made a guarantee to the working class throughout the world for class solidarity.²⁰ The Na-i Branch of the Bank of the Seine issued a manifesto, saying, "Is this war righteous? No! Is this a nationalistic war? No! It is only a dynastic war."²¹

The German working class enthusiastically responded to the appeal of the French workers. A workers' mass meeting held at Brunswick declared that it completely agreed with the Paris Manifesto and they firmly opposed the idea of stirring national hatred against the French people. They adopted a resolution expressing the hope that they "do their best to enable the people of the various countries to have the right to determine the problem of war or peace for themselves, so that the people of the various countries themselves will become the masters that determine their own fate."²² Hei-mu-ni-tz'u City held a delegates' meeting, representing 50,000 Saxon workers. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution saying, "We must remember the appeal of the International Labor Union's slogan, The proletariat throughout the world must unite, and we will never forget

that the workers of all the world are our friends, and that the tyrannical despots of all the world are our enemies."23 The Berlin Branch of the First International had pledged, "Whether it is the bugle call or the thundering of cannons, whether it is victory or defeat, it will never separate us from the common enterprise of the workers of all the world."24 On seeing the internationalistic class affection and to spiritual solidarity between the workers of France and Germany, Marx predicted, "This historically unprecedented event alone has shown that there is hope for a brighter future. This fact has proved that, contrary to the old society, which is economically poor and politically backward, there will be a creation of a new society, and the international principle of this new society will be peace, because every nation will be similarly governed by the laborers."25

At the beginning of the war, on the part of France, it was an aggressive war, and on the part of Germany, it was a defensive war, but both sides aimed at aggrandizement. Consequently, Marx, on the one hand, appealed to the French workers to oppose Napoleon's attack on Germany, and at the same time, he warned the German workers not to allow the war to change from an invasion war into Prussia to a war to invade France and from a defensive war into an aggressive war. Under these complicated circumstances, on 21 July, when the North German Conference was about to vote on the first war bonds, Pei-pei-erh and Li-pu-ko-nei-hsi, the outstanding warriors of the German working class, were forced to abandon their votes in order to exemplify their international viewpoint. Marx and Engels praised their heroic action, but they also pointed out that these warriors, in exposing the dynastic nature of this war, had not seen the first part of the war, which had the effect of uniting Germany. The German working class only regarded this war "as an attempt to strive for the independence of Germany and to free France and all of Europe from the domination of the Second Empire", so they energetically support the war.26

However, one and a half months after the outbreak of the war, the French army surrendered at Sedan and Napoleon III was captured. The Second Empire crumbled like a "house of cards" and Napoleonism vanished like a "soap bubble." Under the so-called "defense" banner, Bismarck finally enforced a war of aggression; thus, the nature of the war was changed, and following that, the fortunes of war were also changed. Accordingly, the German workers changed their own policy. At this time, they demanded the first guarantee, "to enable France to attain an honorable peace and to recognize the French Republic."27 On 5 September, the Central

Committee of the German Social Democratic Labor Party issued a manifesto, energetically affirming these guarantees. It said, "For the common interests between France and Germany, the German workers can never tolerate the seizure of the Alsace-Lorraine areas. We will unite with all the working class comrades of the world and firmly and loyally support the proletariat's common international enterprise."²⁸ At the North Germany conference, when the war bonds were put to a vote, Li-pu-ko-nei-hsi and Pei-peierh cast the opposing vote to show that they opposed Germany's invasion and supported the French workers' internationalistic attitude. By this time, the La Salle faction, which cast their votes in the last voting from the nationalist standpoint, now came to agree with the Li-pu-ko-nei-hsi and Pei-peierh viewpoint. Because Li-pu-ko-nei-hsi and Pei-peierh "betrayed" the "Fatherland," Prussia's Iron and Blood Prime Minister was greatly angered. After this, they were soon thrown into jail by Bismarck. The German working class stood the test of military agitation.

At this time, though France fell into the position of defending herself against invasion, the government of the Republic fell into the hands of the capitalist politicians, who were actually betraying the country under the banner of "national defense". They openly declared that the head of the government, Te-lo-hsiu, "will never surrender" and the Foreign Minister Fa-fu-erh "will never give up an inch of territory." But at the same time, they were determined to surrender secretly. On the same day that the Republic was established, Te-lo-hsiu informed his colleagues that he planned to surrender Paris. He also warned them that any attempt to drive away the Prussians "is a foolish act." In his letter to Leon Michel Gambetta, Fa-fu-erh admitted that they were "defending" Paris not against the Prussian army but against the workers in Paris. Marx issued such a warning to the proletariat in Paris when the enemy was almost knocking at the gates of Paris, and said that all the attempts to overthrow the new government was "absolutely foolish." They should not allow others to use the 1792 "national tradition" to intoxicate themselves and should not allow the past to repeat itself, but to construct the future. They should energetically strengthen their own organization and accumulate strength. The former was a scheme to betray their own country, while the latter was the loyalty to internationalism, forming a vivid contrast. But, the Paris proletariat was intoxicated by the imagination of "patriotism" of the time, so the workers were not able to discern and understand these facts. Pu-lang-chi, "the indisputable revolutionist

and an enthusiastic supporter of socialism," at this time, mechanically brought out the 1792 slogan, "The Fatherland is in danger," as the most suitable slogan for himself. But after the Paris proletariat was forced to rise in arms, Marx not only did not criticize them as a prophet, but instead, praised the Paris proletariat with the highest internationalistic enthusiasm for their heroic deeds. He wrote, "These Paris people, how active are they, how historically subjective are they, and what a spirit of self sacrifice have they!" There is no practical example in history so brave as this struggle."²⁹

As such, at that time, Napoleon used "national war" to oppose Prussia and to avoid a domestic class conflict. As a result, the national chauvinistic Second Empire was defeated. Now, Ti-yeh-erh and Te-lo-hsiu and others used the civil war to oppose and slaughter the French working class. As a result, the Paris Commune, which raised high the flag of proletarian internationalism, was brought into being.

III.

The Paris Commune, on the one hand, was a proletarian dictatorship which was established through the proletarian revolution and which was a new state with obvious socialist trends and on the other hand, it had to possess a nature deeply imbued with proletarian internationalism. The Paris Commune not only was a very important organization in the common enterprise of the proletariat throughout the world, but at the same time, it was the vanguard of the then existing proletarian revolutionary movement. The Commune not only struggled for the liberation of Paris and the French people, but also assumed the task of liberating all the world's exploited people and oppressed nations as their own noble international mission. The Commune not only dealt a blow to the capitalist system, but also challenged capitalist chauvinism. Because of this, the Paris Commune was supported and respected by the proletariat throughout the world. Marx, Engels, and Lenin pointed out that because the Commune was "the workers' government, a courageous warrior striving for labor liberation, and is completely international in nature," "the Commune has attracted all the workers in the world towards France,"³⁰ and because of the Commune's high degree of internationalism and its brave challenge to capitalist chauvinistic emotions, enabling the Commune to possess a great historical meaning,"³¹ "the Commune does not struggle

for any local or narrow nationalistic task, but it struggles for the liberation of the entire laboring people and for all the prosecuted and insulted people."³² The formation and existence of the Paris commune, its activities and struggles, its organization and members, its manifesto and regulations, its appeals and wills, all these were filled with the spirit of world revolution and internationalism. The flag of the Paris Commune was the great flag of internationalism.

At the time, the Paris proletariat had two great slogans they used at every public meeting: "Long live the Commune," and "Long live the World Republic." These were the goals and ideals of the Commune members' revolution. The 18 March uprising was victorious under these two slogans; the Commune was born under the shouting of these two slogans. The Paris proletariat was fighting against the counter-revolutionary army under these two slogans; the members of the Commune were bravely sacrificing their lives under these two slogans. On 28 March, the Central Committee of the People's militia, in its proclamation to the people, said, "You must firmly and bravely follow the road of the future to march forward. You must advocate and use practical illustrations to prove that liberty is valuable; without doubt, you will reach the not distant goal--the world Republic."³³ At that time, the flag that the members of the Commune raised high was the flag of internationalism and the flag of the world Republic.

Then, what was the "world Republic" like which existed in the minds of the Paris proletariat? The Paris Commune was the best explanation in itself. The Paris proletariat's revolutionary hope and practice had proved that the republic they wanted was not the old type republic which was dominated by a few people of the capitalist class, but the new type of "socialist republic" which would be a republic of the greatest number of people of the laboring class. The world they wanted was a world in which there would be no class exploitation and no national oppression. Jang-t'ang, a member of the Commune, when he was receiving a death sentence in the enemy's court, said loudly, "During the Empire's time, I struggled for the Republic. And during the capitalist republic's time, I have struggled for the socialist republic."³⁴ On 6 May, the Central Committee of the Woman's Alliance for the defence of Paris and the protection of the injured, said in its manifesto, "The Commune is the world for the various tribes of people. It is the agency of international principles and revolutionary principles." "Long live the world's socialist republic."³⁵ When Marx was

discussing this problem, he pointed out that all the active powers in France admitted that only the "socialist republic" could exist as a republic. This type of "socialist republic" eradicated the capitalists and the landlords from the state machinery and replaced them with a commune, openly declaring a "socialist liberation" as the great goal of the republic, thereby guaranteeing that the Commune organization to be able to carry out social reforms.³⁶ He further pointed out that "The slogan of the socialist republic" also showed the hope to establish a kind of "blurred intention of a republic to destroy the class rule itself. The Commune is just the definite form of this type of a republic."³⁷ Very obviously, this type of a republic was the Commune, and the Paris Commune was the model of a world republic. At the time, the Paris proletariat wanted to establish a world republic. It was the commune form for their world, or it was a world commune.

The Paris proletariat was shouldering two types of tasks, that is, the national task and the class task. They not only strove for national liberation from the German invasion, but at the same time, they strove for the workers' socialist liberation from the capitalist system. These two tasks united together was "the most outstanding characteristic" of the commune. The result of the profound development of the French class conflict made the capitalist class unable to use "the national cloak" as a pretext. In order to protect its own class interests, the capitalist class openly betrayed the national interests. They "would rather let Prussia occupy France than to see a socialist inclined republic attain victory."³⁸ Only through fulfilling their class task could the Paris proletariat lead the fulfillment of the national task. Marx had pointed out, "If only the working class' government puts efforts into the working class' own liberation can it save France and fulfill the national task, because the conditions for the working class's liberation are at the same time the conditions for the recovery of France."³⁹ The Paris Commune was doing exactly that. Between the ruling classes of the various countries, even though there existed a struggle for interests and sometimes they even waged wars, they always were unanimous in fighting against a proletarian revolution. No matter in what country the proletariat had won a victory, it would be considered by the other countries that such a victory was an encouragement to their own proletariat: thus, it also threatened their own rule. Not long after the establishment of the Commune, its liaison officer sent a memorandum to the various foreign diplomats, notifying them that the

Paris Commune Government was established and declaring that the people of Paris were willing to "strengthen their brotherly relations"⁴⁰ with the people of the other nations. Indeed, it did not receive any reply to this memorandum. Not only this, but during the Paris Commune's time, the Prussian invaders united with the Versailles regime. On the one hand, they used the Prussian army to surround and keep watch over the City of Paris, and on the other hand, they returned a great number of French prisoners of war to theirs. Finally, they allowed the Versailles army to go through their defense line to attack Paris: thus, they used the Frenchmen to kill the Commune.

At that time, far away on the other shore of the Atlantic laid the United States, which also hated the Commune. The American ambassador Hua-shih-pang at Paris had participated in the plot with Prussia and the Versailles regime. On the one hand, he privately commented, "All those in Paris are reascals," "all those people who belong to or sympathize with the Commune should be shot"; on the other hand, he pretended to be sympathetic to Paris and offered a so-called "neutral" arbitration plan to the Commune between it and the Prussians, hoping that in this way the Commune might be disarmed and would surrender. The American reactionaries always had a traditional double-dealing method, "one hand holding a sword and the other hand holding an olive branch." Just because "the producers' enterprise is the same everywhere, their enemies, no matter to what nationality they belong (no matter what national garments they wear) are all the same," therefore, "Paris loudly proclaimed her international inclinations."⁴¹

The Paris Commune was the first genuine Fatherland the proletariat had even created in history. Before this, the workers were only willing to be exploited by the capitalists and oppressed by their State machinery. They had only the "liberty" to sell their labor, but they had no rights. Everywhere in the world, the workers were living under the rule of the reactionary class, thus, the workers "did not have a Fatherland." Consequently, the Paris Commune not only enabled the French workers for the first time to have their own Fatherland, but also enabled all those revolutionary warriors, who were being prosecuted by their capitalist "Fatherland" and driven out from their countries to take refuge in Paris, to have their common Fatherland. At the same time, the Paris Commune also enabled the proletariat in the various countries to see that there was hope, and to perceive the model of their future Fatherland. It also enabled every oppressed nationality to see the bright

future of genuine independence and thorough liberation. In their manifesto, the Belgian volunteers said, "Paris is our second Fatherland."⁴² Ku-la-tse-tzu, the secretary of the Paris United Branch of the First International said, "The Paris Commune today is the only guiding beacon to the proletariat."⁴³

Just because the Paris Commune had such a far-reaching international character and international meaning, all the workers and revolutionists who fled from the various countries and took refuge in Paris united together with the proletariat in Paris, and courageously fought against the Versailles army in order to defend their common Fatherland. The proletariat of the various countries and the people in the French colonies used their own struggles to demonstrate their firm support to the Paris Commune. The deadly struggle the proletariat had offered for the defense of the Paris Commune was the most glorious model for the coordination of genuine patriotism and internationalism for the first time in history. No matter how great the sacrifice made on the part of the Commune was, the Commune's meaning of a common struggle among the proletariat was sufficient to make up all these sacrifices. As Lenin had emphatically pointed out, "In Europe the Commune aroused a socialist movement. The Commune demonstrated the Strength of civil war. The Commune shattered the dreams of patriotism. The Commune eradicated the simple trust the capitalist class had in the people's will. The commune taught the proletariat in Europe to make overall assignments for the socialist revolution."⁴⁴ The Commune was "the greatest model for the greatest proletarian movement in the 19th Century."⁴⁵

At that time, there were numerous international warriors from the various countries who united together under the flag of the Commune. Among these, there were some from Poland, Hungary, Austria, Belgium, Russia, Italy, and many other countries. According to statistics, the number from Poland alone was about 500 to 600. They joined the Commune's government, the People's militia, and the various types of mass organizations of the working people. They also undertook various types of duties and executed very important functions. For the common cause, they, without regard of nationality, joined the Paris proletariat and fought with them shoulder to shoulder. Here they attained what they hoped for. Many famous revolutionists assumed very important guiding work for the Commune. For instance, Fu-lang-ko-erh, a Hungarian worker, was elected to be a committee member of the Commune, and he was responsible for the works in the labor and exchange committee. Tun-pu-lo-fu-ssu-chi and

Fu-lo-pu-lieh-fu-ssu-chi, two revolutionists from Poland, were outstanding leaders in the People's militia. Chi-mi-te-li-ya-wa, a Russian woman revolutionist, was a very outstanding leader in the women's organizations in the Commune. One of the important facts was that the Commune had taken into its folds foreign people to participate in the works of the Commune. Such an important principle was established.

When the Hungarian worker, Fu-lang-ko-erh, joined the Commune, and when he was elected to the Commune's committee, the Commune's Election Committee, in reply to this question, said in its report, "Attention must be given to the fact that the flag of the Commune is the flag of the world republic. Every city has the right to confer the name of citizen to foreign personnel who work for it. The term of the Commune Committee membership is a symbol of greater trust. The committee believes that foreigners should be allowed to join the Commune, and it recommends that you should approve Fu-lang-ko-erh's joining."⁴⁶ The Commune approved this report. When the Commune made the appointment of Tun-pu-lo-fu-ssu-chi, though there was a dispute, it still adopted a correct decision and on account of this, it issued a manifesto to the People's militia, declaring that Tun-pu-lo-fu-ssu-chi was "undoubtedly a loyal warrior in the war for the world republic."⁴⁷ Facts have proved that this Polish revolutionist was doing just that. He did his best for the cause of the Commune and heroically sacrificed himself. The French soldiers doubled their respect for this Polish commander. During the battle, several warriors sacrificed their lives in defending him. For instance, on 18 April, when Captain Chi-la-erh saw an enemy aiming his rifle at Tun-pu-lo-fu-ssu-chi, without hesitation, he dashed forth to the front of the Commander and shielded him with his own body, while he was shouting the slogan, "Long live the Commune," he was struck by the bullet and died. Here, it not only demonstrated the new relationship between the officers and their men in the proletarian army, but what was more important was the fact that it demonstrated a highly firm international character in this struggle. During the Commune period, there was a great number of volunteers among the Commune's armed forces, such as the "Polish Corps" and the "Belgian Corps." Though they were not under the People's militia, they showed obvious effects in the Communes's defensive war.

Since 1830, the Paris revolutionary movement has exerted a very great influence on Algeria, a French colony. The people of Algeria, Ch'ia-pei-erh, and Arabia, as early as the Franco-Prussian War, began to rise up against French

rule in the colonies. The Europeans in Algeria also prompted a revolutionary movement. The Ao-lun People's Guards declared, "We have united with the Paris People's militia and protested to the government authorities against the attack they conducted against the heroic residents."⁴⁸ On 28 March, the day when the Paris Commune was formally established, A. Lang-po-erh, Liu La-pe-i-ai-erh, and Louis Ch'ai-wan-na-ko, on behalf of the Alerian Democrats, issued a statement, expressing, "We are most determined to join the Paris Commune. All of Algeria is striving for the freedom of the Commune. For the last 40 years, under the doubly concentrated military and administrative) oppressions, the colonies have long understood that the thorough liberation of the Commune is the sole means to attain freedom and prosperity."⁴⁹ By April, the scattered uprisings in the various areas had developed into a general uprising, with more than 200,000 people participating. For the cause of national liberation, the Algerian people carried out an armed struggle against the Versailles army for three and a half months. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, the Thiers Government mustered 86,000 men and suppressed the uprising. The Paris proletarian revolutionary movement and the Algerian national liberation movement naturally united together, cooperating and supporting each other. They jointly carried out a united struggle against their common enemy at Versailles, demonstrating that the interests of the people in the colonies and in the Motherland were unanimous and realizing the spirit of internationalism. But, because the Algerian people's national independence movement and the European people's democratic movement did not self-consciously unite together because both sides lacked united struggling knowledge, this lesson should not be neglected.

The internationalistic spirit of the Paris Commune was brought out in another manifestation. It was shown in the destruction of the Wan-to-mu Monument, which commemorated Napoleon's militarism. This monument was constructed in memory of Napoleon's first victory in his aggressive war, and was made of the cannons he captured during the war. The followers of Napoleon's militarism vainly hoped to deceive the French people forever into worshipping him as the absolute leader. But, on 16 May, the Commune, raising high the flag of internationalism and confronted by the Bonaparte and Prussian chauvinistic army, tore down this enormous structure and threw the bronze stature of Napoleon from on top of the monument to the ground. At the same time, the Commune realized the principle of peaceful friendship among the various nationalities by changing the Wan-to-mu Square to

to the "international Square." The Commune declared that day as an honorable day, "marking our separation from the bloody militarism that denied all rights to the people."

The Paris Branch of the First International and its members had contributed outstanding actions to the Commune's enterprise. Under the slogan, "Proletariat of all the world unite," they actively participated in the Commune's struggle. Wa-erh-lun, Ai-hsi, and Ai-erh-no, members of the International, at the time when the Central Committee of the People's militia was established, had already joined in its work. Later, in the Commune's election, about 30 International members were elected to be committee members of the Commune. This was equivalent to almost one third of its membership. Among them, many were appointed to take charge of important and responsible works. For instance, Wa-erh-lun was a member of the military committee; Tu-wa-erh was the military chief for the defence of Paris; Wa-yang was the responsible head of the education committee; T'ai-ssu was the postmaster general; Ti-liao-erh was a member of the military and political committee; Pan-ti was the commander-in-chief of the Paris City Defense Department; A-fu-li-a-erh was the director of the Supply Bureau of the Artillery Department.

At that time, the various branches in Paris had organized into a united organization, together with the United Labor Union, and on 23 March, they jointly issued a circular to the workers, appealing to the people of Paris to vote and support the commune. This united organization sent a delegation to the city government to participate in the Commune's meetings, preserving a close contact with the Commune. In handling the traitorous acts of one of its members, T'o-lun, the Paris United Organization adopted firm measures. T'o-lun refused to implement the requirement that all workers' representatives must sever their relations with the reactionary Versailles regime, and he was determined to remain a puppet representative and to serve the cause of counterrevolution; thus, the United Organization expelled him from its membership. When he was writing the draft for the resolution to expel T'o-lun, Engels pointed out that the members of the International Committee "undoubtedly must stand in the ranks of the Paris Commune."⁵⁰

In regard to the problem of establishing a social security committee, the members of the International had different opinions. The United Organization called an urgent meeting, appealing to those members who were Commune Committee members "to firmly safeguard the working class's interests and to preserve the unity of the Commune with their might, because this unity is extremely essential for the

victory in the struggle against the Versaille Government."⁵¹ Though the majority of the French members of the International were followers of P'u-lo-tung-ism, and though the entire body of the Paris United Organization did not have a guiding function in the Commune, it made enormous contributions in the defence of the Commune's enterprise.

The Paris Commune received enthusiastic sympathy and respect from the proletarian brethren in the foreign countries. They held mass meetings and issued manifestos to express their own support to the Commune and the solidarity of the international proletariat. At the time, inside Germany, the national enemy of France, the German workers held mass meetings in Berlin, I-pei-fei-erh-te, A-erh-t'o-na, Hanover, and Hamburg. Three days before the defeat of the Commune, (25 May) Pei-pei-erh in a speech addressed the parliament, saying, "The proletariat of Europe and all those people who have the ideology of freedom and independence in their minds have turned their eyes to Paris. Even if Paris were conquered at the present, the struggle of Paris is but a skirmish. The principal struggle in Europe is still in the future. The battle cry of the Paris proletariat, 'Declare war on the palaces and to make peace with the huts; destroy poverty and parasites,' will be the battle cry of the proletariat throughout Europe."⁵² When the German Emperor Wilhelm and his army triumphantly returned to Berlin, the people welcomed them with the slogan, "Long live the Commune."

On 16 April, 30 to 40 thousand people participated in the mass meeting held in Hyde Park in London. This was the strong demonstration shown by the British people in support of the Commune. The meeting used the name of "the World Republic" and sent congratulations to the Commune: "You are the vanguards and builders of the new social system. We, the people of London and our government, are working against one another. We deeply believe you are struggling for man's liberty and liberation. We extend to you our hand of friendship and brotherliness." The mass meeting was adjourned in the midst of thousands of shouts, "Long live the the World Republic."⁵³ At the time, mass meetings were held in many places in America and Switzerland to support the Commune. In St. Petersburg, the capital of Czarist Russia, the revolutionists issued handbills, appealing to the people to rise and use revolutionary action to respond to Paris. In the handbills, it said, "The Revolution has risen from the ruins of Paris. It will fly to the various capitals of the world and it will come to our peasants' huts." And it also appealed to the people repeatedly crying, "To arms!"⁵⁴

The Paris Commune was the proletariat's ancestral

legacy. At that time, Marx pointed out, "Only the working class can use the term 'commune' and formulate a new future and in the militant Paris Commune create a new future."⁵⁵ After the defeat of the Paris Commune, Pao-ti-ai, a surviving member of the Commune Committee, wrote the words and Te-kai-te, a commune warrior, wrote the music of the Internationale. This future again appeared. This became the solemn will left to us by the Paris Commune. It appeals to the proletariat throughout the world "to destroy the chains of the old society." It declares that "We are the masters of the new society." It firmly believes that "the Internationale will definitely be realized." With militant words and vivid music, the "internationale" has most perfectly expressed the great ideals of the Paris Commune's world revolution and the noble spirit of proletarian internationalism. The "Internationale" rapidly spread throughout the world and became the common battle song of the international proletariat.

The Paris Commune was the only new state which was a proletarian dictatorship to be seen by the two founders of scientific communism while they were still living. Marx and Engels greatly valued the Paris Commune and regarded it as the "greatest invention" in history, the "vanguard" of the world proletarian revolutionary movement at the time, and "the light of dawn for the socialist revolution which will liberate mankind forever from the class society."⁵⁶ They also regarded the Commune as "the spiritual child" of the International, and the "blood of blood and flesh of flesh" of the International."⁵⁹ Marx, Engels, and the First International under their leadership, both during the time when the Paris Commune was in existence or after it was suppressed, were firmly struggling for all the truth involved in the commune.

No matter how difficult it was for contact to be made between London and Paris, Marx was still able to maintain contact between the International's general headquarters and Paris. The General Committee sent its delegate, Sai-la-hsieh, to Paris. He regularly reported back to London all the developments that were taking place in Paris. Marx maintained regular correspondence with those International Committee members who were elected to the Commune Committee, such as Fu-lang-ko-erh, Wa-erh-lun, and the Russian woman revolutionist, Chi-mi-te-li-yeh-wa. At the same time, he also obtained information concerning the Commune through a German merchant who was traveling back and forth between London and Paris. Though Marx was physically in London, he was definitely not a bystander to the Commune, but he was

an actual participant in the Commune. He enthusiastically learned from the Paris movement and he constantly sent suggestions to them. He had suggested that the Commune must pay attention to preventing the activities of the petty bourgeoisie among the leaders; that the Commune should send delegates to the various large cities in France to encourage the working class to join in the common struggle; that the Commune must strengthen its alertness against the Prussian army and pay attention to the fighting line, which was close to the territory of the Prussian army; and that the Commune should send all the secret documents they had captured from the reactionaries to safe places or to London to have them published; etc. It was unfortunate that these suggestions did not attract sufficient attention from the Commune. In order to obtain guidance from Marx, Fu-lang-ko-erh wrote letters to him, asking his opinions concerning "the formation of the foundation for the socialist republic," and saying, "Your assistance at any time will be a great contribution to our work."⁵⁸ During his busy days in May, he went to London to visit Marx.

At that time, the reactionary newspapers and publications in the various capitalist countries were filled with lies and condemnations of the Commune. It was very difficult to obtain a true understanding of the conditions. But, with his own sharp eyes, Marx saw through the false and superficial information, and from the beginning of the uprising, he was able to see the real nature and the great meaning of the Commune. He led the International's General Committee to give firm support to the Commune and to defend its cause. For this, Marx had written several hundred letters to the branches in the various parts of the world. On 28 March, at the General Committee meeting, Marx recommended that the Committee should issue a manifesto to support the Commune. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution to that effect and decided that Marx should write the draft for the manifesto. This manifesto was issued under the name of the General Committee, just three days after the Commune was defeated. This was the world-shaking and the forever remembered great writing, "The French Civil War." This manifesto gave an all-out analysis of the great experience created by the Commune. Based on this experience, he arrived at new theoretical conclusions. This was an indictment against the capitalist class throughout the world. It was also on account of this that the reactionaries in the various countries feared and hated the International to the utmost. Engels once said, "Since the beginning of history, London has never contributed any document to the world with such strong influence as that

of the manifesto issued by the International's General Committee."59 Accordingly, the capitalist countries all condemned the International and regarded the International as their deadly enemy. At that time, under the influence of the reactionary newspapers and publications, two British members of the General Committee, Ao-chi-erh and Lo-ko-la-fu-te, wrote to the capitalist publications, attacking The French Civil War, which they had signed themselves, declaring that they would withdraw from the Committee. Then General Committee expelled these two traitors and struck out their names from the manifesto. The capitalist class of the various countries wanted to find and tried to prosecute the writer of the manifesto. Marx came out and frankly admitted that he was the author of the manifesto and he was willing to assume all the responsibility. At the time, the enemy threatened to sue him at court. Accordingly, just as Marx himself said, "At this moment, I am honorable the most hated and most threatened man in London." But he casually commented, "They do not dare. I pity those rascals."60 Marx was the greatest banner carrier, who held the flag of the Commune's revolution. With a fearless spirit, he picked up the proletarian red flag, which fell down in Paris temporarily and he raised it very high.

At that time, Marx, Engels, and the General Committee were in a very difficult political and economic position. But as to those Commune workers who fled to London after 25 August, there were more than 80 or 90 who took refuge in London), they still did their best to support and help them. They sought employment for these refugees from the Commune. They tried to obtain passports for them and helped them leave France. They requested the branches in the various countries to contribute donations. Marx's own home had become a refuge center for the Commune members. In order to help the Commune members who took refuge in London, the General Committee retained and elected several outstanding warriors in the Commune struggle to be its members, including Sai-la-shih, Wa-yang, T'ai-ssu, Yu-ko, Ku-lang-ko-erh, Te-la-ai, Lo-sha, Pa-ssu-te-li-ch'ia, and Sha-lien, as an act of respect for the Commune.

On the contrary, the Versailles government not only was satisfied with the slaughter of a great number of the Paris proletariat, but its Foreign Minister, Fa-yu-erh, on 6 June, nine days after the suppression of the Commune, was busy notifying the various foreign countries, asking them to capture all the Commune members and to extradite them as "criminals," and appealing to them to carry out a crusade against the First International. The governments of Belgium,

Austria, and Hungary responded to this appeal immediately, and even the most "sacred" Pope of the Catholic Church joined in this movement. Pope Pious IX told the Swiss Catholics, "Why should we protect them. We should pray for them."⁶¹ This is to say, he wanted them hanged.

This war, which Marx called "the third war" since the establishment of the Paris Commune, had become "the universal war." The reactionaries of the various countries were scared to death by the First International, so they falsely accused Marx as the leader of the First International which "formulated the scheme," and they tried to destroy the International and its branches in the various countries on this pretext. On 3 July, in an interview with the London Correspondent of the New York "World," Marx firmly refuted this lie and fully explained the real relationship between the International and the Commune. Marx pointed out that rather than say the International was "the guiding power," it would better be said that it was a type of a "combination." The International did not give any "order" on the revolutionary problems of the workers in the various countries, but it was sympathetic to every one of their movements and gave them the "assistance" that was stipulated in its regulations. Here the principle that Marx had exemplified was: it was not command and order, but it was combination, sympathy, and assistance. He stressed the fact that the workers in the various countries "must essentially be self-providing." The Paris uprising was "entirely initiated by the Paris workers."

The international solidarity of the world proletariat has a very important meaning in the proletarian revolutionary enterprise. Solidarity is the basic principle of the International, and it was also the great experience of the Paris Commune. After the Delegates' Conference held at the Hague, Marx said, "Let us reflect on one of the International's basic principles--solidarity. If we can consolidate this active principle firmly among the workers for the world, we will positively reach our goal. The revolution must be based on solidarity. The great experience of the Paris Commune has taught us this point." Marx firmly expressed himself, saying that he would "tirelessly" continue working for workers' solidarity, and he would devote the rest of his life "for the victory of the socialist ideology."⁶²

Ninety years ago, with their own great creation--the Paris Commune, the Paris proletariat wrote an epoch-making chapter in the history of proletarian creative enterprises. The Paris Commune was an extremely rich and valuable legacy the Paris proletariat left to the proletariat of the various countries. In the struggle for the Commune, the Paris

proletariat demonstrated the great international spirit and established a brilliant model for us. In summarizing the foregoing facts, we at least come to the following principal conclusions:

First of all, proletarian internationalism was the most important characteristic and principle of the Paris Commune. The creation and the existence of the Paris Commune itself was the great realization of internationalism. The Paris proletariat carried out a proletarian revolution and created a proletarian dictatorship. All these possessed a profound international characteristic. All the measures and activities of the Paris Commune were vivid expressions of the international spirit. The internationalism of the Paris Commune was very great, profound, and vivid. It was positively not accidental. The social position and the historic destiny of the Commune's basic masses and the proletariat determined that it must possess this noble characteristic and must realize this great principle.

Second, the Paris proletariat, whether in "the national war" or in the civil war, used their own blood, on the problem of war, to contribute historic experiences and lessons for the proletariat. The experiences of the Paris proletariat taught us that war is the product of class rule, the form of class struggle, and the continuation of class policy. Based on the different characteristics of war and its relation to the interests of the various classes, the proletariat must adopt its own policies. The proletariat should not generally oppose or unconditionally support all wars, but it should firmly oppose any aggressive war. It should actively participate in those anti-aggressive and patriotic wars and revolutionary and civil wars which are favorable to its own liberation and national liberation. On the problem of war, though the Commune committed great errors, the Paris proletariat, in the practical struggle against the militarism of Prussia and the French traitors of the Versailles regime, constantly raised their understanding and alertness and they still raised high the proletariat's flag of internationalism.

Third, the Paris proletariat not only struggled for its own liberation and for national liberation, but also struggled for the liberation of the people of the entire world. The Commune was the common enterprise of the proletariat throughout the world. No matter how it was slandered and hated by the international capitalist class, it still received acclaim and support from the proletariat in the various countries. The workers of the various countries acted similarly toward the Paris proletariat. They were personally experiencing the practical life in which the

capitalist class of the various countries exploited the others and oppressed the other nations, while the proletariat in the various countries were the unfortunate brothers. The Paris Commune had proved that without the final destruction of class rule, the working class itself could not attain thorough liberation and the oppressed nations could not attain real freedom. The Commune not only represented the interests of the French proletariat and the French nation, but it also represented the real interests of all the other exploited classes and oppressed nations. Accordingly, not only the petty bourgeoisie in Paris was struggling together with the members of the Commune, but also the foreign workers and the foreign democratic revolutionists in Paris were struggling also. The proletarian international principle, under the Commune's flag, had been formulated into an international united front and it was universally realized.

Fourth, Marx' total support to the Commune had established a great model for the proletariat. Marx made an all-out summarization of the Commune's great creation and great experience. Thus, he explained the truth of the Paris Commune to the whole world. He also left to the future generations of the proletariat an "encyclopedia" concerning the Paris Commune--The French Civil War. Marx clearly pointed out that in opposition to the old world in Versailles, the Paris Commune was a new world. Paris was the truth and Versailles was falsehood. Marx not only used his famous book to "resurrect" the Commune, but also crystallized the Commune, a miracle created by the Commune members themselves who could not realize it as such at the time, into classic theories which had great guiding meanings. Today, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the various countries can see in this book the lively images of the Commune. And what is more important is the fact that they derive from it revolutionary experiences and lessons and find a correct road towards revolutionary victory.

Fifth, the lack of the leadership of the Communist Party was the cause of the Commune's defeat. This was the most important experience and lesson. The commune's guiding mechanism was principally composed of two groups of people" one group was the followers of Po-lang-chi and the other group was the followers of P'u-lo-tung. They did not have any dialectic materialist and historical materialist world outlook, so they were not Marxists nor self-conscious internationalists; but they were people with different degrees and various inclinations of opportunistic ideologies. Though the greatest majority of them were whole-heartedly working for the Commune and carried out a selfless heroic struggle,

they had committed fatal errors in their strategy and policy in the struggle against the enemy. Even though it was so, the experience of the Paris Commune proved that the masses of the people, in the final analysis, were creators of history. The Paris proletariat used their own revolutionary practice to contest their erroneous theories. Just as Marx said, "The Commune uses its existence to show its active power, and its actions to prove its theories."⁶³ Marx and Engels paid special attention to this experience of the Commune. In September 1871, the London Meeting of the International, based on their recommendations, adopted a resolution to establish an "independent political party." For the establishment of a proletarian political party, they carried out a vigorous struggle.

In the last 90 years, history has developed along the route Marx predicted: "Eventhough the Commune has been defeated, the struggle is simply being prolonged. The principle of the Commune will exist forever, and it cannot be destroyed. Before the working class attains its liberation, these principles will again manifest themselves."⁶⁴ Thiers, the executioner of the Paris Commune, shouted at that time, "Socialism has come to its end." This has become the laughing stock of history.

Thirty-six years afterward, based on the summarizations and theories concerning the Paris Commune's experiences attained by Marx and Engels, Lenin coordinated the new experiences of the Russian revolution to strengthen the principles of the Commune and led the Russian proletariat and working class to be the first to win the revolution's victory in one-sixth of the area of the world. The Soviet, which Lenin called "The Russian Commune" and the "second step" after the commune, is the continuation and the development of the Paris Commune. The great October Revolution successfully began a new period in the history of mankind. Using the proletarian revolution as its guide, the new world revolution has begun. After the Second World War, a series of people's democratic nations appeared in Europe and Asia. Under the great leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, and using the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the coordinated ideology of China's revolutionary practices as the guide, the Chinese people inherited and expanded the honorable tradition of the Paris Commune and the October Revolution and won a revolutionary victory in the great eastern country where one-fourth of mankind resides. Today, the enterprise that did not succeed in the Paris Commune has already become a lively fact on one-fourth of the land on earth and among one-third of the

world's population. The Commune's "basis is scattered all over the world,"⁶⁵ and "the Commune will be spreading all over the world."⁶⁶ The victory of communist enterprises throughout the world cannot be stopped. We firmly believe, under the flag of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian internationalism, the Communist enterprises will certainly attain a thorough victory throughout the world.

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Footnotes:

- ¹The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 25, page 401.
- ²The Complete Works of Marks and Engels, Russian, Second edition, vol. 17, page 438.
- ³Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 2, page 465.
- ⁴The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Russian, First edition, vol. 27, page 442.
- ⁵Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 478.
- ⁶Marx, Historical Notes, quoted in The Complete Works of Stalin, vol. 1, page 258. Emphasis given in original text.
- ⁷Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 522.
- ⁸Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 501.
- ⁹Op. cit., vol. 1, page 464.
- ¹⁰Op. cit., vol. 2, page 463. Emphasis given in original text.
- ¹¹Op. cit., vol. 1, page 496.
- ¹²Records of the meetings of the Paris Commune, Russian edition, 1959, vol. 1, page 104.
- ¹³Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, pp. 461, 502.
- ¹⁴Op. cit., vol. 1, page 458.
- ¹⁵Op. cit., vol. 1, page 588.

- ¹⁶ The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Russian Edition, vol. 16, page 285.
- ¹⁷ Modern History, edited by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, vol. 3, page 9.
- ¹⁸ Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 465.
- ¹⁹ Op. cit., vol. 1, page 466
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Op. cit., vol. 1, page 462
- ²² Op. cit., vol. 1, page 468.
- ²³ Op. cit., vol. 1, page 468. Emphasis given in the original text.
- ²⁴ Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 469.
- ²⁵ Op. cit., vol. 1, page 469. Emphasis given in the original text.
- ²⁶ Op. cit., vol. 1, page 475. Emphasis given in the original text.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 2, page 463.
- ³⁰ Op. cit., vol. 1, page 505.
- ³¹ The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, First Russian edition, vol. 16, Section two, page 283.
- ³² The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 17, page 125.

- ³³Records of the Meetings of the Paris Commune, 1959 Russian edition, vol. 1, page 23.
- ³⁴Mu-lo-ko, "The Workers During the Time of the Commune," in The Paris Commune, edited by the Chinese People's University, page 138.
- ³⁵Records of the Meetings of the Paris Commune, 1960 Russian edition, vol. 2, page 185.
- ³⁶The French Civil War, preliminary draft.
- ³⁷Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 498.
- ³⁸Letter from Marx to Priestly on 19 October 1870.
- ³⁹The French Civil War, preliminary draft. Emphasis given in the original text.
- ⁴⁰Records of the Meetings of the Paris Commune, 1959 Russian edition, vol. 1, page 95.
- ⁴¹The French Civil War, preliminary draft.
- ⁴²Records of the meetings of the Paris Commune, Russian edition, 1960, vol. 2, page 116.
- ⁴³Mu-lo-ko, "The Workers During the Time of the Commune," See The Paris Commune, edited by the Chinese People's University, page 110.
- ⁴⁴The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 13, page 455.
- ⁴⁵Op. cit., vol. 13, page 454.
- ⁴⁶Records of the Meetings of the Paris Commune, 1959 Russian Edition, vol. 1, page 50.
- ⁴⁷Lo-li-yeh, Family History of the Paris Commune, page 297.

48 K'ai-erh-jen-ts'ai-fu, History of the Paris Commune, 1959 Russian edition, page 280.

49 Records of the Meetings of the Paris Commune, 1959 Russian Edition, vol. 1, page 24.

50 The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Second Russian edition, vol. 17, page 308.

51 Mu-lo-ko, "The Workers During the Time of the Commune," page 113.

52 Mu-lo-ko, edited by Ao-erh-lo-fu, Documents of Modern World History, vol. 2, page 57.

53 Records of the Meetings of the Paris Commune, 1959 Russian edition, vol. 1, pp. 272-273.

54 Documents of Modern World History, vol. 2, first section, page 58.

55 The French Civil War, preliminary draft.

56 Marx, "The Resolution Adopted by the Mass Meeting on the First Anniversary of the Paris Commune," in the Soviet magazine, Historical problems of the Communist Party, 1960, no.3.

57 Mei Lin, Story of Marx, page 494.

58 Lo-li-yeh, Family History of the Paris Commune, page 100.

59 Engels, "The French Civil War and the British Newspapers."

60 Marx, Collected Letters to K'u-ko-man, published by the People's Press, page 121.

⁶¹Summary report made by Marx to the fifth delegates' meeting of the First International on behalf of the General Committee.

⁶²The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Russian edition, vol. 13, second edition, page 670.

⁶³The French Civil War, preliminary draft.

⁶⁴Marx: speech at the General Committee Meeting, 23 May 1871.

⁶⁵The French Civil War, Second draft.

⁶⁶Op. cit., preliminary draft.

THE PARIS COMMUNE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST
STRATEGY AND STRATEGIC THINKING

Following is the translation of an article by
Li Kuan-ts'an in Li-shih Yen-chiu, No. 2,
Peiping, 15 April, 1961, pp. 59-73.

On 18 March 1871, the Paris proletariat, through a revolutionary struggle, created the first proletarian dictatorship in the world--the Paris Commune.

The Paris Commune was given life under the conditions when the proletariat still did not have sufficient power to control France and the free capitalist class already could not control France. The losses sustained at war with Germany, the sufferings of being sieged, the disappointment of the proletariat, the bankruptcy of the petty bourgeoisie, the discontent and hate of the masses for the ruling class, the reaction of the National Assembly, all these and many other factors added together and promoted the Paris Commune's revolution.

The Commune lasted only 72 days, but it was the first heroic attempt in which the revolutionary proletariat rose to destroy the state mechanism of the capitalist class. It was the first realization of the proletarian guiding power (over the city's petty bourgeoisie, etc.). It was the first revelation that the capitalist class had already become counterrevolutionary. It was a valuable lesson, because there was no united leadership of the Communist Party nor an alliance between the workers and the peasants, and because there was too much tolerance for the enemy. All these basic and principal defects brought about the defeat of the Commune. It gave the proletarian struggle in the modern world an incalculable assistance (model). All these proved that the Commune was a great incident which had historic meaning in the history of the whole world.

In learning the experiences of the Paris Commune, Lenin once pointed out: "Analyze this experience, and from this experience derive a strategic lesson. Based on this experience, again scrutinize our own theories. This is the

task Marx has raised."¹ Through we are now commemorating the Commune under new conditions, Lenin's instruction, as far as we are concerned, has not yet lost its meaning.

Based on the Commune's experiences, and from the Marxist strategic policy which concerns the destruction of the capitalist class' state mechanism, the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, and many other important problems, this article tries to present its own views and establish the necessary proofs.

I.

The struggle between the various social classes, the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, and the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class all narrow down to one point, the struggle for the power of the state. All the basic problems of the revolution are the problems of state power. The proletarian dictatorship is the basic problem of the proletarian revolution. This is the reality of the Marxist state theory. It is also the nucleus and the highest principle of the strategic policy of the proletarian revolution.

Of all the proletarian revolutionary movements, the struggle of the Paris Commune reached the highest point up to that time. The Paris Commune greatly enriched the experiences of the proletarian revolutionary struggle, and it greatly developed the ideology of the Marxist strategic policy.

The ideology of Marx and Engels concerning the proletarian dictatorship, that is, concerning the proletarian state and the revolutionary strategy, underwent a historic development process.

At the very beginning, on the eve of the 1848 European Revolution, Marx' and Engels' ideology concerning the proletarian dictatorship was already born. In his mature and early writing, the "Poverty of Philosophy," especially in his joint authorship of the "Communist Manifesto" draft with Engels, Marx clearly raised the problem concerning the state and the proletarian dictatorship. The "Communist Manifesto" pointed out that when the undercover civil war becomes an open revolution, "the proletariat uses force to overthrow the capitalist class and establishes its own rule."² It also raised the idea that "the state is organized into the proletarian dictatorship. But, if the proletariat needs the state as a strong organization to strip the capitalist class, then, a conclusion can be arrived at: if the capitalist

class' state mechanism is not destroyed first, is it possible to establish the proletarian state mechanism? "The Communist Manifesto" touched upon this conclusion, but it did not formulate it completely. This was due to the limitation of time, because in the historical development of that time, the development of the proletarian revolutionary struggle did not have sufficient materials to reflect the necessity of destroying the capitalist class' state mechanism. When Marx summarized the revolutionary experiences from 1848 to 1851, he clearly formulated this conclusion.

During the French revolutionary period from 1841 to 1851, Marx summarized the historical experience of this French revolution in his book Louis Bonaparte's Coup d'etat, pointing out, "The parliamentary republic, in its opposition to the revolutionary struggle, besides using high-handed oppression, strengthens the tools of government authorities and centralization. Up to today, all political incidents have enabled this mechanism to become more perfect, and have not destroyed it."³ Accordingly, Marx believed that from then on, when the proletariat would carry out a revolution, it would "concentrate all its own destructive powers" to "destroy" and "break" the old state mechanism. This, as compared to the task raised in the "Communist Manifesto" concerning the state and the proletarian dictatorship, had made a great step forward. But what can be used as a substitute for the destroyed state mechanism? What is the overall form of the state established by the proletariat? At that time, the proletarian movement did not raise this problem. Up till 1871, at the time of the Paris Commune, there were materials most pertinent to this problem.

In 1871, the enemy confronted the Commune with two roads, one of war and the other of surrender. Without a minute's hesitation, the Paris proletariat raised the flag of armed revolution. Their revolutionary creative spirit and the practical conditions of the Commune encouraged them to adopt a new political form to replace the old state mechanism. At the time, the conditions were complicated and the greater part of the state mechanism had lost its usefulness, because the so-called "National Defense Government's" high and middle officials and the entire National Assembly ran to Versailles with Thiers. Because of the pressure of the situation, the Commune was forced to the actual position in which it must consider that in order to continue the revolution the mere taking over of the capitalist class' state mechanism was not enough, but the mechanism had to be destroyed; and the mere destruction of the old state mechanism was not enough, but at the same time, a new state mechanism which would be appropriate for its own use must be established. The heroic Paris proletariat, because they had highly exerted their historic subjectivity and their revolutionary creative

spirit in their own revolutionary practice, had finally broken through the original boundaries of the past historical progress and given birth to the preliminary form of the proletarian dictatorship, the Paris Commune, as the new child of human history. These were the most valuable materials contributed by the Paris Commune.

From the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx discovered the preliminary form of the new proletarian state, which would replace the state mechanism of the capitalist class. The basic conclusion he made on the Commune was: "The real secret of the Commune lies in the fact that it is, in reality, the working class' government. It is the result of the producers' struggle against the possessor class. It is the political form which is finally discovered to enable the laboring class to attain economic liberation."⁴ This political form can be and must be used to replace the destroyed state mechanism. This, as compared with the theory that Marx discovered during the 1848 to 1851 revolution, and the fact that the capitalist class' state mechanism must be destroyed, was a very great leap forward. Marxist theory with regard to the proletarian dictatorship up till that time had completed its systematic organization.

In the Paris Commune struggle, the proletariat not only fully manifested its self-sacrificing revolutionary heroism, but also highly exerted its revolutionary creative spirit for the reform of social history. In the struggle, they not only took over the political power, but also destroyed the old state mechanism and created a new proletarian political form, thereby contributing very valuable experiences for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

On the experiences of the Paris Commune, Marx carried out a scientific analysis and a comprehensive summarization, and he arrived at the following four principal conclusions:

1. The Proletarian Revolution must Destroy the Capitalist Class' State Mechanism

In history, all statesmen of the exploiting class, when they took possession of the ruling position, frequently just took over the old state mechanism and improved it so that it would become more perfect to serve the ruling class. The capitalist class was just using this method to change the feudalistic state mechanism. At the end of the eighteenth century, when France evolved from feudalism to capitalism, though the French capitalist revolution was especially strong, the result was the continued preservation or even the expansion of those oppressing organs which had served the feudal lords in the past

in order to make them serve their cause. In the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, though the French capitalist class had derived a definite lesson from revolution, they made certain changes in these oppressive organs, but they were still being tried and kept in existence. In the entire process from the First Empire to the Second Empire, France, just as Marx had said in The Louis Bonaparte Coup d'etat and The French Civil War, was constantly strengthening and perfecting her state organs, following the development of the capitalist class.

The other capitalist countries, when they had a revolution, adopted a more obvious compromising attitude in treating the problem of the old state mechanism. What were their reasons? This was because they started from the demands of the exploiting and selfish class. In their revolutions, they utilized the revolutionary positive factors of the masses of workers and peasants to help them to overthrow the feudal rulers. But in the process of revolution, because of the increased strength of the workers and peasants, the interests of the capitalist class and the ruling power they had taken over from the feudal rulers were directly threatened, causing the capitalist class to decline towards compromise and reaction and compelling them to utilize the existing state mechanism to oppress the laboring people. This is the common point of the capitalist class in the various countries in treating the revolution and state. Because their interests are basically contradictory to those of the laboring people, the capitalist class and the exploiting class have adopted the attitude of preserving and improving the old state machinery because they have a basically similar view concerning the preservation and consolidation of the exploitation system. The state machinery, the external factor of the private ownership, which protects productive materials, basically corresponds to the exploitation system that oppresses the people. Accordingly, the capitalist class must basically preserve the old state machinery. But it is improved and perfected on the old basis in order to serve the capitalist rule. The proletarian attitude towards the capitalist state mechanism is entirely different. They have adopted a revolutionary attitude to break and destroy it, because it is the proletariat's task to eradicate exploitation and to eliminate class. The capitalist state machinery, the external part of the internal factors of the private ownership system which protects the productive materials, is basically contradictory to the proletariat's establishment of the public ownership system over the productive materials. They are basically contradictory to the eradication of the exploitation system and the needs of constructing socialism and communism. Accordingly, the proletariat must destroy the capitalist state

mechanism and establish the proletarian state mechanism, whose purpose is to suppress and eradicate the entire exploiting class. Only then can they fulfill their goal.

In the revolution, the proletariat cannot utilize the capitalist class' "existing state machinery," but it must destroy it. This is one of the most important tasks that the proletariat must perform in carrying out the revolution. Marx and Engels believed that this basic and principal lesson from the Paris Commune had extraordinary meaning. In 1872, when the "Communist Manifesto" was in its second edition, they added this point to it as an important revision.

2. The Paris Commune Type of State is the Form of Proletarian Dictatorship Replacing the Capitalist State Machinery

As has been said above, at the beginning of the Paris Commune, it admitted that the proletarian dictatorship could not continue to apply the old state machinery to carry out its rule. In order not to lose its own rule, the Commune, on the one hand, had to thoroughly destroy the army, police, bureaucratic system, and other principal components of the old state machinery (because if they were not destroyed, they might turn back to the road of the old state rule at any time), and on the other hand, it had to guarantee that its own nature would not be changed. For these, it had to guarantee that it would have the right to oppose its own representatives and officials and declare that each of them, without exception, could be recalled at any time.

The Paris Commune was the manifestation of a new state for a proletarian dictatorship. It had lost the original meaning of "state." It was a "state" where the exploiting class of the old state was destroyed. On principle, there was a distinction between it and the old state. The old state mechanism and its bureaucrats under the exploiting class were the masters of society. They were separated from the people and contradictory to them. The state mechanism and its personnel under the new Commune were the servants of society. They agreed with the people and were under the direct control of the people. Thus, how to guarantee that the new state mechanism and its personnel would not change into the masters of society became the basic factor for the existence of the new state. In 1891, Engels wrote the preface for the book The French Civil War (Lenin believed that this preface was the "highest accomplishment of Marxism on the problem of the state"⁵) and he pointed out that:

"In order to keep the state and its various organs from changing from the society's servants to the society's masters--this sort of thing is inevitable in all states now--the Commune adopted two infallible methods. First, it appointed those people who were elected under the universal election system to all administrative, judicial, and elementary education positions. At the same time, it enforced the laws concerning those elective officers, who might be recalled any time at the people's will. Secondly, all the salaries for public officials, without regard for high or low positions, would be the same. The Commune, in general, paid a salary of 6,000 francs. In this way, illegal promotions and corruption would be prevented. In addition, the Commune enforced the absolute appointive system in all elective organs."⁶

This is to say, it was a coordination of the elective and administrative democratic centralization system and the universal election system. It realized that political authority was of mass nature with the public servants in society. The low salary system for the state's public personnel was to prevent the formation of a special class. The result of the application of these two methods was the guarantee that the proletariat, in treating the state after their victory, would be able to, first, eradicate its defects, and second, cause it to be eliminated by itself.

3. The Revolution's Armed Force is the Material Strength by Which the Proletariat Destroys the Capitalist State Mechanism and Establishes the Proletarian Political Power and It is the Reality of the State Problem

In The French Civil War, Marx made a detailed analysis of the French capitalist state development. He pointed out how the capitalist state had step by step increased and expanded the degree and scope of its class oppression. The French capitalist empire (the First Empire and the Second Empire) was also developed from the development process of class struggle. "Modern industry, on the one hand, deepened the contradiction between capital and labor, and on the other hand, the national political power became more oppressing against labor, with the inclination of realizing a social force to implement social slavery and with a class ruling mechanism. Every time after a further revolution showing class struggle, the state authority's pure oppression openly became more obvious."⁷ "Because of the threat of a proletarian uprising, the propertied class had united together and shamelessly used the state's political power as the nation-wide armed force for the capitalist class to fight

the laboring class."⁸ In order to take possession of and destroy the "nation-wide armed force" which the capitalist class might use against labor, they had to make use of armed forces. The experience of the Paris Commune was good proof. The reason why the Commune could be established and why it existed for more than two months lies principally in the fact that it had a revolutionary armed force. "The reason why Paris was able to resist was due to the fact that it was surrounded, so it abandoned the army and established the People's Militia, which was composed of workers. In order to make this into a definite system, the Commune, in its first order, abolished the regular army and replaced it with the people's armed force."⁹

Whether or not the proletariat and the revolutionary masses should be armed: this was the reality of the problem of the Marxist state and the revolution. The proletariat and the revolutionary masses controlled a strong armed force, which was the strongest means and guarantee for the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. At the same time, it must be pointed out that the armed force was changed from the hands of a few oppressors to the hands of the great majority of the oppressed and the exploited, who then organized a state. And the state was also changed from one with a few people oppressing the majority of the people to one with the majority of the people oppressing a few people. The change in the state's nature was brought about by the change of the armed force. The change of the armed force itself was an armed revolution. It was also the action of the proletariat in carrying out its destruction of the old state machinery and the establishment of the proletarian political power by revolution. On this principal point, the Paris Commune contributed valuable experiences.

4. Only by Using the Alliance between the Workers and the Peasants as the Basis can the People's Revolution Control the Revolutionary Armed Force, and Firmly and Thoroughly Destroy the Old State Machinery and Establish the Proletarian Regime's Revolution

Stalin said, "In the struggle for political power, whom should the city and village laboring people support, the capitalist class or the proletariat; whose reserve force should the city and village laboring people be, that of the capitalist class or that of the proletariat. The fate of the revolution and the stability of the proletarian dictatorship should be determined on this point. The defeats of the 1848 Revolution and the 1871 Revolution in France were principally due to the fact that the peasants' reserve armed force stood by the

capitalists."¹⁰ On this extremely important problem, because of the limitations by historical factors in the Paris Commune period, the peasants were not able to become the reserve armed force of the proletariat. In winning over the city laboring people and the petty bourgeoisie to be its reserve armed force, the Paris Commune did well in this respect. For instance, in dealing with the petty bourgeoisie, because of the enforcement of the policy of deferred payment of promissory notes and rents, they were saved from disaster. At that time, Marx pointed out that this was a "very intelligent step." The proletariat had realized its leadership over these classes of people. In the meantime, though it was not successful in winning over the peasants, it offers us a very valuable lesson in this respect. This was related to the basic problem of the success or failure of the proletarian revolution. It was once more reflected in Marx' brain.

On 12 April 1871, just when the Paris Commune was established, in a letter to K'u-ko-man, Marx pointed out that to "break" and "destroy" the bureaucratic military machinery "is the first step that must be carried out by any people's revolution on the Continent."¹¹

Here, the people's revolution principally refers to the alliance between the workers and the peasants. Only through using the alliance between the workers and the peasants as the basis of the people's revolution could the revolutionary task of destroying the old state machinery firmly and thoroughly be carried out. For, the destruction of the old state machinery was the demand made by the needs of the workers and the majority of the peasants, and it was also the "priority factor" for the alliance between the workers and peasants. In carrying out the destruction of the old state machinery and its own construction, the Paris Commune did not have sufficient strength and was not thorough enough. This was because it did not realize the alliance between the workers and the peasants. The history of the proletarian revolution has always proved that without a strong alliance between the workers and the peasants as the basis and without the revolutionary armed force based on the alliance between the workers and peasants, it not only could not realize a firm and thorough destruction of the old state machinery but also could not fulfill the task of strongly and consolidatedly establishing a proletarian dictatorship.

The Paris Commune opened a road for itself to realize the alliance between the workers and the peasants. But, because of many internal and external causes, the goal was never reached. However, its revolutionary practice gave us a lesson. It actively proved the indisputable truth of the great Marxist revolutionary strategic ideology concerning the alliance between the workers and the peasants.

The above four principal summarizations can be stated in these several sentences: it is the alliance between the workers and the peasants, led by the proletariat, carrying out the revolutionary struggle, destroying the old state machinery, and establishing a new state. It is also through using this that they destroy class and exploitation and construct a socialist society and a communist society.

This is the nucleus of the proletarian revolutionary strategic policy. This highest principle of the Marxist revolutionary strategic ideology was the product of the revolutionary creative spirit of the Paris Commune. It was also the scientific theory which Marx and Engels, based on the Commune's experience and lesson, summarized for the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. It was the most valuable wealth left to the proletariat and working people throughout the world.

II

The Paris Commune's experience and lesson proved that the historically inevitable revolutionary firmness of the masses strategically despises the enemy, and the accidental characteristic of history, the activeness of the guiding policy, tactically pays attention to the enemy. These, mutually coordinated, had become the gist of the proletarian revolution's strategy and policy. It was Marx' basic principle of guidance for the strategic policy of the Paris Commune. This "gist" and "principle" was the realization and reflection of the law of development for the proletarian revolutionary movement. The basic experience of the Paris Commune was that the task of revolution is difficult. It requires that the bureaucratic military state mechanism must be destroyed and the proletarian dictatorship must be established. However, the proletariat can fulfill this revolutionary task and can attain the final victory. The Paris Commune's valuable lesson was that the enemy of the revolution is a degrading social force. But at that time, it was very cunning. "The capitalist class may do anything. Today, he may be a liberal, a progressive, or a republican; but the next day, he may become a traitor and a killer."¹² In order to fulfill the revolutionary task and to defeat such enemies of the revolution, it is necessary that the proletarian revolutionists inherit the historical legacy from the Paris Commune and learn and hold fast to the "gist" and "principle" of the Marxist revolutionary strategic policy.

In order to reply to K'u-ko-man's unclear and erroneous understanding of the Commune, on 17 April 1871, Marx pointed

out that in the working class' struggle against the capitalist class and its state, because of the appearance of the Paris Commune, the struggle entered into a new stage. No matter what the direct result might be, a new starting point that had a world historical meaning was already attained. This new starting point was the first attempt of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship created by the Paris Commune. It marked the beginning of the second period of modern history (1870-1914)! It also marked the beginning of the decline of world capitalism.

Just because Marx had seen the inevitability of this historical development, he accordingly praised to the utmost the revolutionary heroism of the Paris proletariat and had uncomparable confidence in the final victory of the masses' revolutionary struggle. He also extremely despised the enemy strategically. He pointed out, "After the conclusion of the most tragic modern war, the victorious army and the defeated army will unite together to attack the proletariat. This was an unheard of incident, and this was not what Bismarck had dreamed of, proving that the new society which had opened a road for itself would meet its final defeat. On the contrary, it proved that the old capitalist society had already decayed."¹³ "After the Easter holiday in 1871, there was no peace nor any armistice between the French workers and the possessors of their labor products. The mercenaries' iron fists could temporarily suppress the two classes; but the struggle between them would definitely flare up again, and the struggle would be more serious. Therefore, in the final analysis, who should be victorious, the few possessors or the greater majority of the laboring masses? This would be an inevitable question. The French workers were but the vanguards of the proletariat."¹⁴ Follow the laws of history, trust the masses, strategically despise the enemy: all these were filled in between the lines of the writings of the tutor of the revolution.

Indeed, Marx at the same time told his friend K'u-ko-man that history has, on the one hand, the nature of inevitability, and on the other hand, the nature of accidental possibility. The inevitability of history could not be easily attained. It was accidentally attained through countless successes and difficulties and through struggles and defeats which had produced effects. "These accidental characteristics themselves naturally constituted a portion of the general development process and were balanced by the accidental characteristics. But the acceleration and the delay of the development was greatly determined by these 'accidental' conditions."¹⁵

The army of the foreign enemy (Prussia) had arrived at the city gates. This was the unfavorable "accidental" condition

which determined the failure of the Paris Commune. From this accidental condition, many other "accidental" conditions arose. The foreign enemy and the domestic reactionaries united together; thus, Paris was attacked in front and from the back and it was fighting in isolation. Here, we must mention an important problem which confronted the proletarian revolution, that is, attention must be paid to the accidental characteristics. Just like fighting a war, the using of ten against one in every battle must be coordinated with the using of one against ten in the overall strategy.

From the very beginning, Marx held fast to the dialectic relation between the accidental characteristics and the inevitability. On 9 September 1870, he told the French workers that when the enemy almost knocked at the gates of Paris, all attempts to overthrow the new government (meaning their own capitalist government) would be foolish. This was based on: (1) When the foreign enemy's army was already at the gates, the domestic enemy had already surrendered, and accordingly, it was very natural that they would unite to fight against the workers' uprising. (2) The strength of the proletariat was small and the Communist Party was not organized yet, so there were two petty bourgeoisie factions (the Pai-lang-chi faction and the Pao-lo-tung faction) leading the proletariat. Accordingly, Marx at that time pointed out that the Paris workers must be cold and firm in utilizing the freedom under the republic to more definitely strengthen their own class organization and strength. It was the correct revolutionary policy. This was the special attention paid to the difficult conditions under accidental characteristics and the overall manifestation of paying attention to the enemy tactically.

But, following the development of the struggle, following the step by step oppression of the reactionary Thiers, and following the united oppression of Bismarck's mercenaries and the Versailles butchers, there were only two roads from which the revolutionary Paris workers could choose. They could resist or surrender. The Paris workers and the other revolutionary masses, using the revolutionary creative spirit and the self-sacrificing spirit, took up arms, bravely resisted, and showed a great historic subjectivity, vowing "to change the modern imperialist war into a civil war."¹⁶ This was the only correct and brilliant slogan for the proletarian revolution in successfully adopting the utilization of war. For they had created a revolutionary crisis and had to use the proletarian revolution to realize the policy of the double task of the realization of national liberation and class liberation, thereby breaking through the quantitative transformation process in the historical development.

In September 1870, Marx said that any uprising then would be a foolish action. But in April 1871, when the masses' revolutionary uprising broke out, he joined with the masses and together with them learned from the struggle, and with the attitude of a participant, expressed his greatest sympathy and firmest support for this world historical revolutionary movement which had made one great step forward. The two seemingly contradictory attitudes Marx had concerning the uprising were both entirely correct. Why was it so?

The strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution were based on the agreement of the proletariat's partial interests with its basic interests and the agreement of present interests with long-term interests. Measured from the principle, when the reactionaries were putting their butcher knife on the necks of the working masses, the masses were forced to rise up. When the working masses had risen up, those who participated in the uprising well knew that they would be defeated, but they struggled to the end. This agreed with the principle that the partial interests must be subjected to the basic interests. Because firm resistance meant a direct failure as compared to surrender to the enemy, which of the two ways would bring a lesser loss to the proletarian interests? "When the Versailles bandits traitorously attacked the armed forces of the Paris proletariat, if the workers retreated without a fight, they would be disarmed. Then, this weakness on the part of the proletarian movement would bring a great disappointment and a serious crisis among the workers. As compared with the losses sustained by the struggle in defense of their own armed forces, the retreat would be much more serious. No matter how great the Commune's sacrifice was, the meaning of the Commune in relation to the common struggle of the proletariat made up its losses. The Commune promoted a socialist movement in Europe; the Commune showed the strength of civil war; the Commune scattered the dreams of patriotism; the Commune broke the innocent confidence in the capitalist national will. The Commune taught the European proletariat to make an overall assignment of the socialist revolutionary tasks."¹⁷ Based on this principle, under the conditions when the proletariat was forced to take up arms to resist, though they knew they would be defeated, they still firmly struggled to the end. This also agreed with the principle that the present interests were subjected to the long-term interests. "Marx could fully understand that in history there were frequent incidents of this kind. Even when the masses were carrying out a life and death struggle or an enterprise which had no hope of success, it would give them a further education. It was essential to train the masses for the next struggle."¹⁸ This was the

basic principle which was declared in the "Communist Manifesto": The Communists struggle for the workers' closest goals and interests, but at the same time, they insist on the movement's future."

Based on the Paris Commune's experience and lesson, Marx summarized the principle of proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics, holding fast to the inevitability and accidental characteristics of history, the firmness and activeness of the struggle, and the manifestation of the dialectic relation between strategically despising the enemy and tactically paying attention to the enemy. It was also the manifestation of the coordination between the highly revolutionary character and the highly scientific character. Because Marx observed this trend of world historical development, he saw it was just creating history but he had no way to know the correct estimate that it would be victorious. However, it started from the viewpoint of the masses. Accordingly, he said, even if it was defeated, the Paris Commune was "the greatest model for the greatest proletarian movement in the nineteenth century."¹⁹ This strategic and tactical ideology in Marx' theories was of very great importance to the liberation enterprise of the proletariat and the working class. This basic point must be firmly remembered by all Communist members and genuine revolutionists.

The revolutionary practice of the Paris Commune, on certain principles of the proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics, basically implemented the above-mentioned spirit of the revolutionary dialectic principle. This was because the masses' revolutionary creative spirit was basically united with the scientific spirit. But, because of the definite restriction of social historical factors and because the ideology that led the Paris Commune at that time was not proletarian dialectic materialism but was the "leftist" adventurism of Pai-lang-chi and the rightist idealism of Pao-lo-tung (the common point of their ideologies was subjective metaphysics), and because the workers revolution did not instinctively take into consideration these erroneous theories and opened its own road, it was inevitable that there were certain or even serious defects and errors in the revolution of the Paris Commune. These defects and errors were principally inclined towards the treatment of the accidental characteristics, the activeness of the guiding policy, and paying attention to the enemy tactically. That is to say, there was not enough understanding and attention paid in this respect. Accordingly, as to the problem of the overall policy of the Paris Commune, Marx mainly stressed the assistance and guidance to the workers who participated in this uprising. Besides summarizing the

experience of the Paris Commune on the basic aspect (such as the theory of the state authority, the ideology of strategically despising the enemy, etc.), thereby creating the examples of the strategic ideological guidance, and in another important aspect (stressing the accidental characteristics of history, the mobile activeness of the guiding policy, and the ideology of paying attention to the enemy tactically), Marx summarized the lesson of the Commune. Thereby, examples of the guiding policy were established.

As to the Thiers reactionaries who fled to Versailles (the old French palace, 18 kilometers from Paris), should they attack them immediately or should they just wait? As to the special agents, the secret service men, and the reactionaries that were left behind in the city, should they firmly suppress them or should they give them the greatest tolerance? As to the revolution's leadership, should it be tightly held by the Central Committee of the People's Militia, which possessed definite authority and power and which was relatively more centralized (the people's revolutionary armed force in Paris), or should it be transferred to the Commune immediately? As to the capitalist National French Bank, should it be confiscated or should it be allowed to continue to exist as before? As to these problems, the Commune committed the error of despising the enemy tactically and despising difficulties. Marx solemnly criticized these errors, and at the same time, he insisted on and developed his own ideology of a revolutionary policy. He suggested that the Commune should attack the Versailles regime immediately, without giving an opportunity to the enemy to recover. He believed that a policy of firm suppression must be adopted against the reactionaries, so that the goal of preserving the security of Paris would be fulfilled. He recommended that the Central Committee should not give up its responsibility of leadership too early and should not promote the election for the Commune too soon, because if it was done, it would weaken the revolutionary leadership and objectively it would give the enemy a chance to concentrate its strength. He also suggested that the Commune should adopt a policy of "exploiting the exploiter" against the French Bank, for in this way, the entire French capitalist class would be forced to exert pressure on the Versailles regime and this would be favorable to the Commune's struggle. In short, Marx had always held tight to the principle of coordinating the two phases of strategically despising difficulties and tactically paying attention to the enemy and paying attention to difficulties while strategically despising the enemy. His farsightedness was always focused on the entire development of the Paris struggle. Accordingly, while Marx insisted

on and developed the above many correct policies, he also advised the Commune to send delegates to the various large principal cities to promote the struggle. He advised the Commune that it must defend the Mon-ma-te-erh Highland, where it met the vanguards of the Prussian army. He exposed the plot in which Thiers collaborated with Bismarck in a counterrevolutionary scheme to suppress the Commune. He also suggested that the Commune should send all the documents to London to be published immediately, so as to counteract the false documents published by the Versailles counterrevolutionaries. Closely coordinating with the revolutionary practice of the Paris Commune, Marx made an all-out exertion of the proletarian strategic ideology. This provided a very valuable revolutionary strategic guiding principle for the future proletarian revolutionnary enterprises. It was unfortunate that these valuable guidances from Marx were not implemented, because of the obstruction from the petty bourgeois socialist ideology on the part of some Commune leaders. This was one of the causes of the Commune's defeat.

To use Marx' suggestion that the Commune must defend the Mon-ma-te-erh Highland as an illustration, this proved that Marx' strategic ideology was sparkling with revolutionary dialectic brilliance. Those Prussian troops who occupied the forts in the northern and eastern parts of Paris violated the treaty and allowed Thiers' reactionary soldiers to pass through their line (according to the Franco-Prussian Armistice Agreement, the French troops were not permitted to pass through this area). Before this, in his letter to the Commune Committee, Marx had pointed out that they must consolidate their defense line along the Mon-ma-te-erh Highland where they were in touch with the Prussian army, because he predicted that the Prussian army would allow Thiers' troops to pass through there. This was Marx' scientific prediction derived from an analysis of the changes in the contradictions among the enemies in the developmental process of the class struggle. (It was very unfortunate that the Paris Commune was overconfident concerning the Prussians' "neutrality" and did not listen to Marx' advice. As a result, they suffered a heavy loss.) Marx pointed out that all these were but the repetition of past history, because the various ruling classes frequently united together to suppress the proletariat. He illustrated this by saying that in the sixteenth century, the French knights and the Norman knights were fighting a war against one another. At that time, the peasants broke out in an uprising. Thereupon, the knights on both sides forgot about their own quarrel and immediately united together and jointly destroyed the peasant movement.²⁰ This was a good

example. Following this scientific analysis, it was the subjectivity of his strategy and the correctness of his struggle against the enemy. These also proved that Marx implemented the model of coordination between the firmness and activeness of the struggle in his strategic guidance.

Strategically, the errors made by the Paris Commune were not accidental. Their cause was principally due to the fact that the proletariat was unconsciously deceived by the capitalist "national traditions" and it was deeply affected by them. Just as Lenin said, "They coordinated patriotism (author's note: that is, the capitalist nationalism) with socialism, and they were contradictory to each other. This was the French socialists' fatal error."²¹ This is to say, the French capitalist class was no longer the French national defender. It had already lost its progressive nationalist characteristic. In September 1870, the "National Defense Government" made peace with Prussia, and the reactionary nature of the French capitalist class, which betrayed France, became thoroughly exposed. Accordingly, in order to truly realize the national liberation (not to follow the capitalist patriotism), they only had to rely on the proletarian revolution. When the proletariat fulfilled the task of liberating the proletariat, it also had to oppose the deception of capitalist "national traditions." It was impossible to follow the capitalist patriotism and at the same time to carry out the proletarian revolution. The two could not be had at the same time.

However, the French socialist ideologically could not get away from the "deceptions and influences of the capitalist national traditions." Their errors in strategically despising the enemy originated from this. For instance, Pai-lang-chi, the enthusiastic supporter of socialism and a revolutionist, took the capitalist slogan, "The Fatherland in a Crisis" as the name of a newspaper. This is one of the best proofs. Accordingly, the Commune committed the error of talking about the "conscience"²² and did their best in trying to reform the enemy.²³ Thus, they were being too tolerant." They had the pet hope of establishing the highest ideal so that the entire country would join together to fulfill the national task; thus, they did not even exploit such an organization as the bank. And, in order to keep the people from blaming them for "taking over the political power illegally" (this also originated from what they called "conscience"), they transferred the political power too soon and wasted valuable time in the Commune's election. All these came from the general source of capitalist patriotism. It was not hard to understand that when some Commune members advocated the so-called

"national unity," they tried to prove it as if there was only one class--the people. They said the "laboring capitalist class is the proletariat's own sister." At the same time, they opened wide the city gates and let the enemy flee to Versailles in great crowds and allowed the bureaucrats to leave Paris with all their files, and also they permitted the reactionaries to hold the so-called "peace" demonstrations. Were all these not "falling in steps?" Were these views and these actions not just demonstrating that the French socialists had committed the "fatal error" of coordinating the two mutually contradictory tasks of patriotism and socialism?"

III

"Marxism is different from all other socialist theories. It not only can use the extremely scientific cold attitude to analyze the objective conditions and the objective process of evolution, but at the same time, it can very firmly recognize the meaning of the masses' (of course, he had the ability to find out certain class relations and to realize the relation between the individual, the collective body, the organization, and the political party) revolutionary fortitude, their revolutionary creative ability, and their revolutionary creative spirit. He outstandingly coordinated these two phases."²⁴

"This theory, which possesses a very strong attraction to the socialists in the various countries throughout the world, is itself very strictly and highly scientific (it is the peak of social science) and is revolutionary in nature. It is not an accidental coordination (not only that he was the founder of the theory, but also that he has the characteristics of a scholar and a revolutionist), but it is the internal and inseparable coordination of the two into the theory itself."²⁵ (Note: the emphasis here is added by the author.) The summarizations made by Marx concerning the experience of the Paris Commune contained the formulation of the strategy and tactics, just as his complete theory did, and fully realized this basic characteristic which Lenin tried to prove in Marxism.

From the relation between the experience of the Paris Commune and Marxism, one can well see the coordination between theory and practice, the revolutionary character, and the scientific character.

If there was no such revolutionary practice as the Paris Commune, Marx could not have further established and developed his theory of the state and a series of strategical and tactical ideologies. For, if it was not based on the masses' creativeness, had not summarized the masses' revolutionary experience,

and had not derived the theory from objective practice, there would be no genuine theory and there would be no scientific characteristics. Similarly, if there was only revolutionary practice, and if there were no such scientists as Marx and Engels, this theory and ideology could not have been further established and developed. For, if practice could not be raised to theory, if revolutionary practice was not summarized, if no ideological conclusion was drawn from the masses' rich practical struggle, and if the revolutionary practice and the practical struggle were restricted to a narrow scope and were stopped at the emotional understanding stage, there would be no real revolutionary practice and thorough revolutionary characteristics. Theory and practice, revolutionary characteristics and scientific characteristics: the two cannot be separated. But generally speaking, practice and the masses' revolutionary characteristics are of greatest importance. Very obviously, if the Paris proletariat had not broken out in an uprising at that time, and if it had not promoted a firm struggle against Thiers, but knelt down in surrender, then could this preliminary form of the proletarian dictatorship have been brought into being?

A new matter is produced and developed in struggle. If struggle is given up, the Paris Commune type of state cannot be realized. Thus, it can be seen that only when it was built on the revolutionary practical basis of the proletariat's brave struggle could the necessity of the task and the possibility of realization of the "destruction of the bureaucratic military machine and its replacement by the Paris Commune be realized." Of course, if the people's revolutionary struggle and practical experience, which had already appeared, could not be studied and summarized by the scientific view and method and could not reflect and analyze these objective practices, similarly, the Marxist theory of state and his revolutionary strategic and tactical ideology could not be created and developed. At that time, a confusion of ideas arose concerning the Commune. Such a confusion clearly proved this point. The book, The French Civil War, and the other writings which summarized the experiences of the Paris Commune written by Marx, Engels, and later by Lenin, were the models of revolutionary characteristics and scientific characteristics and of the mutual unity of theory and practice. They were "models which internally and inseparably coordinated the two into this theory itself." They were the models which outstandingly united the masses' revolutionary creative spirit and the scientific analytical attitude.

As to the development of Marxism, the important meaning of the Paris Commune lies in the fact that in this serious

stage of the class struggle, it concentratedly exposed the numerous contradictions slowly accumulated during the so-called period of peaceful development, raising the class struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class to a serious, pointed, and profound high position, from quantitative development to the stage of qualitative transformation. It provided an objective study for the Marxist scientific works, and a typical object for dissection. Holding fast to this objective, it was an experimental farm for the establishment and development of the Marxist theory of state and the revolutionary strategic and tactical ideology. This was very appropriate, for the Paris Commune occurred in France where the capitalist development was more complete, where the class struggle was more fully developed, and where the development of the political struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class had been carried to a higher stage. In the nineteenth century environment of France, the Paris Commune itself had an epoch-making historical meaning. The class struggle developed to the highest stage, which was a proletarian revolutionary movement with socialist coloration.²⁶ As a participant, Marx paid all his attention to the Paris Commune, using it as the model for carrying out the dissection, using theory and practice to unite into a sharp weapon, and exposing the entire mystery of the Commune's internal machinery. This was the scientific method which Marx himself had always advocated and applied, that is, following the development of the objective matters carried out in the contrary direction, from high to low, and in the method of seeking the cause from the effect. Marx pointed out, "Human anatomy is the key to the anatomy of a monkey. The characteristics that are demonstrated in the body of the lower animals belong to the higher animals, and can only be recognized in the higher animals after they have been understood."²⁷ "In regard to the observation and scientific analysis of the form of human activities, generally, the practical development of the form of human activities follows a contradictory road. It starts from the back and from the result of the completed process of development."²⁸

Because of this, through the dissection of the sparrow in the form of the Paris Commune and by breaking through at the key points, from the individual objectives one can derive a guiding principle; thus, in order to destroy the bureaucratic military machine and to establish the basic principle of the state theory concerning the proletarian dictatorship, we must hold fast to the coordination of the inevitability and the accidental characteristics of history and the coordination between the firmness and activeness of policy in the

struggle. We must also hold fast to the principle of coordinating the despising of the enemy strategically and paying attention to the enemy tactically and many other activities, such as attack and defense, military struggle and political-ideological struggle, the series of principles concerning the attainment of solidarity between the alliance and the isolation of the enemy, and ideas concerning the proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics. Following Marx' summarization of the Paris Commune movement development itself, all these quantitatively and concentratedly appeared on the historic stage of modern class struggle.

The entire theory of Marxism, through the general and overall coordination, and through the coordination between key point break-throughs and all-out expansion, was to be carried out dialectically on the objective road. Speaking from the theory of social economics, in the study of the laws of capitalist development in the whole world, Britain was one of the most perfect and the highest model in developmental form. Accordingly, Britain became a sparrow for Marx to dissect in conducting his economic studies. The great volume, Capital, was derived from these studies, rising from overall reality (principally concerning the economic conditions of the British capitalist society) to the universal truth. This was a great scientific accomplishment. Speaking from the class struggle and the political theories, in the studies of capitalist state machinery, the laws of class political struggle, and the laws concerning the proletarian revolutionary movement in the whole world, France at that time was the most perfect and highest model in developmental form. In the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century, during 82-years of history, France witnessed the 1789 to 1793 Revolution, the 1848 to 1851 Revolution, and the 1871 Paris Commune Movement. Because of certain historical factors in French society, the development of the capitalist state form, the class struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class, and the political revolutionary movement had advanced to a higher plane than those of other countries. Accordingly, France became a sparrow for Marx to dissect politically. His famous books, The French Civil War and Louis Bonaparte's Coup d'etat, were derived from these. They were the theoretical crystallizations rising principally from the French social and political struggle to the universal truths. These theoretical research works and these working methods must be the unity of theory and practice, the unity of revolutionary and scientific works and methods, and they cannot be other works and methods. In order to commemorate the ninetieth anniversary of the Paris Commune and to learn the Marxist strategy and tactics, we must earnestly hold fast to this basic point.

The Paris Commune was merely the preliminary form of the proletarian dictatorship. Accordingly, if it were compared with the Soviet Union, China, and the other socialist countries of today, it naturally was preliminary, unconsolidated, and imperfect. But, before the establishment of the Soviet Regime, the Paris Commune was the only proletarian political form. It was the sole sparrow of the proletarian dictatorship, and it was the sole high class sparrow with all the features of a proletarian dictatorship. Accordingly, the value of its classical and creative meaning, its being the vanguard, and its historic meaning were all incalculable.

Footnotes:

¹The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 25, page 401.

²"Communist Manifesto," the People's Press, 1956 edition, page 46.

³Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 309.

⁴Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 501.

⁵The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 25, page 436.

⁶Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 463.

⁷Op. cit., vol. 1, page 496.

⁸Op. cit., vol. 1, page 497.

⁹Op. cit., vol. 1, page 498.

¹⁰The Complete Works of Stalin, vol. 6, page 314.

¹¹Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 2, page 463.

¹²The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 8, page 181.

¹³Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, page 520.

¹⁴Op. cit., vol. 1, page 521.

¹⁵Op. cit., vol. 2, page 465.

- 16 The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 21, page 16.
- 17 The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 13, pp. 454-455.
- 18 Op. cit., vol. 12, page 104.
- 19 Op. cit., vol. 13, page 454.
- 20 Records of the Meetings of the Central Committee of the First International, published by the Hua-tung University Press, page 68.
- 21 The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 13, page 453.
- 22 Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 2, page 464.
- 23 The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 13, page 454.
- 24 The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 13, pp. 19-20.
- 25 Op. cit., vol. 1, page 305.
- 26 The Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 17, page 122.
- 27 Marx, Critique on Political Economy, page 167.
- 28 Marx, Capital, vol. 1, translated by Kuo Ta-li and Wang A-nan, 1956 edition, People's Press, page 58.